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C

THE

CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE LATE

JOHN WILKES,

WITH HIS FRIENDS,

PRINTED FROM THE

ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS,

IN WHICH ARE INTRODUCED

MEMOIRS OF HIS LIFE,

BY JOHN ALMON,

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

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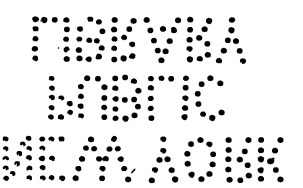
ПЯЧУКА
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MEMOIRS

AND

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

JOHN WILKES, Esq.

LETTERS OF

MR. AND MRS. HASTINGS.

LETTER I.

MY DEAR SIR, Park-lane, Tuesday, 1793.

If I had been so fortunate as to have found you at home this morning, I should have taken the liberty to solicit your advice, and perhaps assistance, on a matter in which, though not personally affecting myself, I am very much interested. It is this:

An old friend of mine, major Gall, has at this moment two daughters in Paris, whom he

carried thither, when children, for their education; and left them there about the time in which the war broke out, under the care of a near relation. He has heard that they are in circumstances of distress, and is anxious to proceed thither for the purpose of affording them relief, and of endeavouring to get permission to bring them to England. He has accordingly applied for, and obtained, a passport from this government to go to France; but he has none for his admission there, nor any means of applying for it. He has been told, that Mr. Swinburne is on the point of going to that country with a commission to settle a cartel for an exchange of prisoners; and has mentioned to me his wish to be recommended to that gentleman, to be allowed to attend him as one of his suite. My compassion for his situation, which is every way deplorable, compels me to transgress the bounds of propriety in troubling you on this business; but, it is one of those cases in which a man may be justified to himself, but must appear unreasonable to every one besides.

My acquaintance with Mr. Swinburne (and I regret it independently of this consideration) is too slight to admit of my making any application to him myself in behalf of major Gall; and it is possible that he may not have it in his power (if I could) to comply with it. You, my dear sir, may be able to inform me, whether a person charged with a commission of the nature of that which I suppose to be consigned to Mr. Swinburne, has a latitude allowed him to take any persons with him besides his own domestics and official assistants. If this is not the case, it will preclude all further trouble. If it is, may I presume upon the kindness which I have so often experienced from you, to entreat your intercession with Mr. Swinburne to take my friend under his protection to Paris? In no other respect will he be a charge upon him. There he will shift for himself.

Mrs. Hastings desires me to assure you and miss Wilkes of her best regards. We were both much grieved to hear that you were much indisposed. I do not consider your absence

from home as an indication of your having regained your health; knowing that even such a cause, unless very great indeed, would not prevent you from your attendance on a duty: but I sincerely hope that you are better.

I am,
my dear sir,
your much obliged and
affectionate servant,
WARREN HASTINGS.

LETTER II.

Park-lane, December 28, 1793.

WILL my dear miss Wilkes give me the pleasure to accept of the accompanying piece of shawl, as a token of my affection?

I hope you are as well as my heart wishes you. Ever your faithful

M. HASTINGS.

LETTER III.

MY DEAR MISS WILKES, Saturday Evening.

I HAD the satisfaction and the pleasure to see to-day the person whom you *love*, above all others, the *best* in this world (and I believe you will in the next). But to come to the point: that dear person made us happy by a kind promise; which is, that he will come and dine with us some day next week; but left the fixing of the day to his beloved daughter. Now I pray to know when it will best suit my dear miss Wilkes to favour us with her company?

I was much pleased with the good account I hear of you: continue the same, and give us the happiness of seeing you always as we wish; which is, *very well.* Adieu, my dear madam! Mr. Hastings desires

me to present his best and affectionate compliments.

I am, ever,

your sincere

MARIAN HASTINGS.

LETTERS FROM

MRS. AND MISS STERNE

TO

MR. WILKES.

LETTER I.

At Mr. Williams's, Paper-merchant,
Gerrard-street, Soho.—Tuesday.

MRS. and Miss Sterne's compliments wait on Mr. Wilkes. They intend doing themselves the pleasure of calling upon him, if not disagreeable; and would be obliged to him if he would appoint an hour when he will not be better engaged. They would not intrude; yet should be happy to see a person whom they honour, and whom Mr. Sterne justly admired. They will, when they see Mr. Wilkes, entreat him to ask some of his friends to subscribe to three volumes of Mr. Sterne's Sermons, which they

are now publishing. Not to have a melancholy story to tell Mr. Wilkes when they meet, miss Sterne begs leave to tell it now in a few words.

My father died, and left his unhappy widow and daughter in the most distressed circumstances. His debts amounted to eleven hundred pounds; his effects, when sold, did not raise above four hundred: my mother nobly engaged to pay the rest out of a little estate of 40*l.* *per annum*, which was all she had in the world;—she could not bear the thoughts of leaving his debts unpaid, and I honour her for it. This was, or rather would have been, a scanty provision, at least for those who have seen better days. Heaven raised us up friends, who both saw and pitied our distress; and gave a most convincing proof of it, by making a collection in our behalf in the race week at York, which amounted to 800*l.* We are now publishing these Sermons, in hopes of raising something for our future comfort. We have sold the copy-right for a trifle; our greatest hopes are, that we may have a good many subscribers. Several of our friends have used their interest

in our behalf. The simple story of our situation will, I doubt not, engage Mr. Wilkes to do what he can in getting us some subscriptions; and we should be glad to know by a line, what day and hour will be most *à propos* for us to wait on him. If deferring that pleasure a few days will be better or more convenient, they leave him to determine; and beg leave to assure Mr. Wilkes that they are

his sincere well-wishers,

and humble servants.

L. STERNE.

LETTER II.

To John Wilkes, Esq. King's-Bench Prison, London.

DEAR SIR, Angoulême, July 22, 1769.

'TIS with the greatest pleasure I take my pen to fulfil the promise I made you the last time I had the pleasure of seeing you. I mean that of writing to you, and to give you an account

of us and of our situation. A correspondent like Mr. Wilkes gives your humble servant more vanity than I thought I was capable of. I am an inch taller to-day than I was yesterday. I wish the French may not find a difference in my behaviour—*ce sera bien pire.* When I receive a letter from you, they certainly will say, "*Peste! que cette fille est aujourd'hui dans ces grands airs! Décampons au plus vîte.*" This is supposing you will favour me with an answer, else I have done wrong to style you 'correspondent:' but I know you are polite, and never want what the French call *égards pour les femmes: encore moins, je m'imagine, vis-à-vis les filles.*

You expected an English letter, and not a *pot pourri.* I will not write one word more of French. I know not why I do, for I am no very great admirer of the language: 'tis better calculated for nonsense than my own; and consequently suits me better to write, though not Mr. Wilkes to read. Thank my stars, you promised me not to shew my letters to any one, not even to your confessor—remember that.

Now, as to our journey,—nothing either agreeable in it or diverting, I promise you. A journey through France (that is to say, the posting part of it) cannot be a *Sentimental* one; for it is one continued squabble with innkeepers and postillions: yet not like Smelfungus*, who never kept his temper; for we kept ours, and laughed whilst we scolded.—How much the French have the advantage over us! They give themselves ease by swearing; which, you know, is talking bawdy. We English women do not know to set about it; yet, as archbishops in France swear as well as their neighbours (for I have heard them, to my edification), I cannot see why we women may not follow their example. The French women, however, do it *sans façon*. Again!—scratch out the words *sans façon* yourself, and put an English one in the place, which I will hereafter adopt.

Angoulême is a pretty town: the country most delightful, and from the principal walk there is a very fine prospect; a serpentine river,

* Sentimental Journey.

which joins the Garonne at Bourdeaux, has a very good effect; trees in the middle of it, which form little islands, where the inhabitants go and take the *fresco:*—in short, 'tis a most pleasing prospect; and I know no greater pleasure than sitting by the side of the river, reading Milton or Shakspeare to my mother. Sometimes I take my guitar and sing to her. Thus do the hours slide away imperceptibly; with reading, writing, drawing, and music.

> Thus wisely careless, innocently gay,
> We play the trifle life away.

Yet, dear sir, often do we wish ourselves in England. Necessity sent us hither; may Fortune bring us back!

We receive much civility from the people here. We had letters of recommendation, which I would advise every English person to procure wherever he goes in France. We have visitors, even more than we wish—as we ever found the French in general very insipid. I would rather choose to converse with people much superior to me in under-

standing (that I grant I can easily do, so you need not smile). With the one I can have no improvement, but with people of sense I am sure of learning something every hour; as being intimate with a person of an excellent heart and sensible feelings mends sometimes one's own.

'Tis now time to remind Mr. Wilkes of his kind promise—to exhort him to fulfil it. If you knew, dear sir, how much we are straitened as to our income, you would not neglect it. We should be truly happy to be so much obliged to you that we may join, to our admiration of Mr. Wilkes in his public character, tears of gratitude whenever we hear his name mentioned, for the peculiar service he has rendered us. Much shall we owe to Mr. Hall for that and many other favours; but to you do we owe the kind intention which we beg you to put in practice. As I know Mr. Hall is somewhat lazy, as you were the promoter, write to him yourself: he will be more attentive to what you say.

In regard to the frontispieces which you

wish me to draw, though I am not very capable of it, yet, if you think it will be of use (that is to say, enhance the price of the work), I will get (not an aide-de-camp, but) a drawing-master to assist me. Becket purposes to put the nine volumes into six: you know there are already two done to my hands; do tell me if you think they will do with four others. The first, you know, represents Trim's reading the sermon; with the figures of Dr. Slop, Mr. Shandy, and Uncle Toby. The second is the baptism of Tristram. Now, as to the four others, do, my dear sir, give me hints of what you think will be most suitable. What think you of Maria and the goat, with my father beside her; the sick-bed of poor Le Fevre for another,—with Uncle Toby and Trim by his bed-side, and Le Fevre's son with the picture of his mother in his hand, the cushion by his bed-side on which he has just prayed? Choose me yourself the rest. Do not, do not, dear sir, neglect it; 'twill be an act of kindness.—If you should see Becket, speak as if you thought

he ought to pay handsomely for the Life of Mr. Sterne, wrote by two men of such genius as Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Hall. It will sell extremely well. If he is cool upon the subject (which, by the bye, I am sure he will not), say that the Life will be printed with the original Letters of Mr. Sterne, and sold to another. But, *entre nous*, we neither of us wish to publish those Letters; but if we cannot do otherwise, we will, and prefix the Life to them.

I fear I have wore out your patience. Forgive me, 'twas a pleasing occupation to write to you. I know not whether it is impertinent to ask you if your affairs go on equal to the wishes of your friends? That they may, believe me, is the sincere wish of,

Dear sir,

your most faithful obliged friend,

L. STERNE.

P. S. We flatter ourselves you are well. My mother joins in most cordial wishes for your welfare and happiness. May every thing you

wish be granted you! as I am sure you will grant us ours; nay, you even *prevented it.*

Once more, adieu!

Our best compliments wait on miss Wilkes.

Address:

A mademoiselle, mademoiselle Sterne, demoiselle Angloise, chez. Mons. Bologne, Rue Cordeliers, à Angoulême, France.

LETTER III.

To John Wilkes, Esq. King's-Bench Prison, London.

Angoulême, Oct. 24th, 1769.

How long have I waited with impatience for a letter from Mr. Wilkes, in answer to that I wrote him above two months ago! I fear he is not well; I fear his own affairs have not allowed him time to answer me; in short, I am full of fears. Hope deferred makes the heart sick. Three lines, with a promise of writing Tristram's Life* for the benefit of his widow and daughter, would make us happy.—A pro-

* The Life of Mr. Sterne.

mise, did I say? that I already have: but a second *assurance.* Indeed, my dear sir, since I last wrote we stand more in need of such an act of kindness. Panchaud's failure has hurt us considerably: we have, I fear, lost more than, in our circumstances, we could afford to lose. Do not, I beseech you, disappoint us: let me have a single line from you, "I will perform my promise," and joy will take place of our sorrow. I trust you will write to Hall; in pity, do. —

Adieu, dear sir! May you enjoy all the happiness you deserve! may every wish of yours be granted, as I am sure you will grant my request! My mother joins in best compliments. Our most cordial wishes attend you and the amiable miss Wilkes.

Believe me, most truly,

your faithful friend,

and obedient humble servant,

L. STERNE.

A mademoiselle, mademoiselle Sterne, Angloise, chez Mons. Bologne, Rue Cordeliers, à Angoulême, France.

LETTER IV.

To John Hall Stephenson, Esq. London.

DEAR SIR, Angoulême, Feb. 13, 1770.

'Tis at least six months since I wrote to you on an interesting subject to us; namely, to put you in mind of a kind promise you made me, of assisting Mr. Wilkes in the scheme he had formed for our benefit, of writing the Life of Mr. Sterne. I wrote also to him; but you have neither of you favoured me with an answer. If you ever felt what 'hope deferred' occasions, you would not have put us under that painful situation. From whom the neglect arises, I know not; but surely a line from you, dear sir, would not have cost you much trouble. Tax me not with boldness for using the word *neglect:* as you both promised, out of the benevolence of your hearts, to write my father's Life for the benefit of his widow and daughter; and as I myself look upon a promise as sacred, and I doubt not but you think as I do; in that case the word is not im-

proper. In short, dear sir, I ask but this of you; to tell me by a very short letter, whether we may depend on yours and Mr. Wilkes's promise, or if we must renounce the pleasing expectation. But, dear sir, consider that the fulfilling of it may put 400*l.* into our pockets; and that the declining it would be unkind, after having made us hope and depend upon that kindness. Let this plead my excuse.

If you do not choose to take the trouble to wait on Mr. Wilkes, send him my letter, and let me know the *oui ou le non.* Still let me urge, press, and entreat Mr. Hall, to be as good as his word: if he will interest himself in our behalf, 'twill but be acting consistent with his character; 'will prove that Eugenius was the friend of Yorick—nothing can prove it stronger than befriending his widow and daughter.

Adieu, dear sir!

Believe me your most obliged,

humble servant,

L. STERNE.

My mother joins in best compliments.

[NEITHER of the gentlemen performed their promise. Mr. Sterne, though happy in a fertile genius, does not seem to have been happy through life. He lived, during the first period of his life, in obscurity and poverty: and in the latter part, in a state of separation from his wife; who chose rather to retire to France with her amiable daughter, than live in England under the daily provocations of an unkind husband;—for, though Mr. Sterne was a great wit, it cannot be said that he was a desirable companion for a lady of delicacy. He died on the 19th of March, 1768.]

LETTERS FROM

MR. WILKES TO MR. PETRIE.

[THE editor has been favoured with the letters of which the following are copies, by a gentleman of whom the public has some knowledge: whose acquaintance with Mr. Wilkes, early in life, was the result of his political conduct; whose steady firmness to Mr. Wilkes, grounded upon an opinion that it was impossible then to separate the cause from the man, was never shaken by the formidable secessions, and the still more formidable attacks, to which the jarring politics of the day gave rise; and to whom, possibly, Mr. Wilkes owed more public and other obligations than to any private individual besides of his numerous friends and supporters. They are only some few of the many letters he received from Mr. Wilkes, which accident alone has preserved;

but even from these the real character may be distinctly traced.]

LETTER I.

Richmond,

DEAR PETRIE, Sunday Evening, Dec. 25, 1774.

IT is impossible to be absent from the good city of London to-morrow at one in the afternoon, for reasons I will tell you, which were not foreseen, and will satisfy you.

I earnestly beg of you never to think of the idea of what was mentioned, for I am sure you would repent so rash a step. I am strongly in opinion against any attempt but at the risk of White, and would hold out to him such advantages as he could not resist. I do not see that your being personally present would avail; and so we both coolly thought. A sudden illness would tell better.

I will be at the mansion-house to-morrow

between eleven and twelve; and, wherever I am, shall be most affectionately

yours,

JOHN WILKES.

Lady-mayoress desires her compliments: and we join in respects to Mr. Stavely.

[The allusion in this letter is to Cricklade, for which borough there was then a vacancy. The election which followed was declared void; and at the succeeding election, in March 1775, Mr. Petrie first started as a candidate. He was accompanied by Mr. Wilkes (then lord-mayor of London), Mr. Canning (the uncle and patron of the treasurer of the navy), and many other respectable friends.]

LETTER II.

Saturday, Sept. 21, 1776.

I HAVE much regretted of late the enjoying your company so very seldom, dear Petrie;

and lamented the untoward circumstances which have happened to us both. *Hope*, however, shall always be my motto; and we will look with a piercing and cheerful eye into futurity.

I thank you for your kind letter before you left town: the cheerfulness of it delighted me exceedingly. The great distance you are now from this scene of almost all business, makes me anxious for your speedy return; and I should think twenty miles a preferable distance to two hundred from the capital, when you do not choose this for your residence.

As to the letter I mentioned, it should contain a few strictures on the innocence of your friend, the various proofs *he* (B.) must recollect of insanity in the lady, your regret at knowing the interruption of so long a friendship on so unjust a suspicion, and your wishes for a reconciliation—the first step to which ought to come from him. It may be dated and sent from Scarborough: the writer, in ill health, thinking it his duty (likely himself to live but a short time); and putting home the ungrounded

accusation and breach of friendship, he having a high regard for both. These are only hints: the experiment is worth making. Be so good as to send me a copy; and if you have leisure, let it be sent next week.

Vale, et me ama!

[*Note on the preceding letter.*—Mr. Barnard (the son of sir John Barnard and Mr. Wilkes had been old and intimate friends; and during the two years of Mr. Wilkes's confinement under the sentence of the court of king's-bench, Mr. and Mrs. Barnard were his constant visitors, and paid him the greatest attention. The same sociability and intimacy continued after Mr. Wilkes's release, and upon every occasion Mr. Wilkes was Mr. Barnard's confidential adviser. In this manner these gentlemen lived together till the period of Mr. Wilkes's mayoralty; when, in the delirium of a fever, Mrs. Barnard brought a heavy charge

against Mr. Wilkes, every part of which was in the most pointed and positive manner denied by him. After having been long agitated and distressed by the persevering assertion on the one side, and the equally strong denial on the other, Mr. Barnard proposed to Mr. Wilkes a meeting between him and Mrs. Barnard, at which no third person except Mr. Barnard should be present. Mr. Wilkes first endeavoured to convince Mr. Barnard of the impropriety of such a meeting in the then situation of Mrs. Barnard; but failing in this, he pleaded unavoidable engagements of office on those days when Mr. Barnard expected him in Berkeley-square, and under one pretence or another avoided the proposed interview.

Mr. Barnard, chagrined and provoked, and unhappy at home, at length sent to Mr. Wilkes as bitter a letter as could possibly be written by man. He presumed on the truth of Mrs. Barnard's assertions; he renounced all further acquaintance with Mr. Wilkes; and, to prove what that gentleman would in all probability even-

tually lose by this presumed conduct of his, Mr. Barnard enclosed, under the same cover with his letter, his last will and testament, cancelled that morning,—by which he had bequeathed to Mr. Wilkes a legacy of five thousand pounds; and the whole of his library, paintings, and prints, which he valued at a much larger sum.

What Mr. Wilkes's feelings were upon this occasion, can be much easier conceived than described. He long tried different expedients for a reconciliation, but to no purpose; Mr. Barnard was fixed and determined. Mr. Wilkes had repeatedly told Mr. Petrie that there was not the least atom of truth in the story told by Mrs. Barnard; and that gentleman, under such an assurance, wrote to Mr. Barnard from Scarborough upon the receipt of this letter, but not precisely in the terms and manner which Mr. Wilkes requested. No notice, however, was taken of this interference. The story was productive of serious benefit to the one party, and of a prejudice equally serious to the

other; and whether true or false, it lies now entirely with God and their own consciences.

The editor of the present work has seen all the letters which passed between Mr. Barnard and Mr. Wilkes on this subject; and he has no hesitation in saying, that *Mr. Barnard's suspicions appear to have been well founded.*]

LETTER III.

Tuesday, Oct. 1, 1776.

I HAVE only time, my dear friend, to say, I not only approve but greatly admire. If his heart is not hardened like Pharaoh's, by *my lady*, he must yield and send to me. The full obligation of the whole will be to you.

Dr. Wilson has been in town and dined here; but is now returned to Bath for the remainder of his life, after having sent there all his furniture from the Cloisters of Westminster. He is to live in the same house at Bath

with Mrs. Macaulay, who has paid me a most friendly visit.

I am impatient to see you and thank you; and let us contrive to snatch as many hours as we can, this hard season, from the dull cares of life, and consecrate them to the joys of social friendship.

Adieu!

LETTER IV.

MY DEAR PETRIE, Friday, Aug. 29, 1777.

YOUR voyage and journey have not in the least changed you. To the end of your life you will continue amiable and careless; indefatigable in the service of your friends, a little inattentive to your own interests. *Par exemple*—you sent me a French letter of the first importance, of which you may be assured I made the proper use; but you do not mention in what manner I can send you any advices. Be so good as to be particular about this, and

mention the best way of sending you two curious volumes which are now finished.

A letter directed by me to you would certainly be opened; perhaps any letter to you by the post from hence. I therefore send this by a French courier to Calais, to be put into the post there; and will write no news till I have your answer, and am sure of a safe conveyance.

Adieu! *Portez-vous bien, soyez gai, et buvez de bons vins.*

LETTER V.

Sept. 18, 1777.

THE greatest pleasure which the peevish Fates have long afforded me, was the letter brought me by Mr. G. G., and the very pleasing account he gave me of you. I need not say how greatly I interest myself in every thing respecting your welfare. Alas! I can only form wishes, but they are very warm from the heart. If I could make efforts, I should be

happy in the attempt; and the success would reward me more than the friend for whom they were executed.

I sent to the gentleman in Serjeants Inn a large parcel: it contains what you desired; and a little present for a gentleman at Passy, which I wish you to deliver yourself, with my compliments.

Can you guess what stay you shall make at Paris?—I wish you to give me whatever intelligence you have respecting America. I desire to be your agent with respect to all your little commissions of pleasure here, and I will employ you as unreservedly for me. Pray, who is your bookseller? and is he diligent and honest, and will he take pains in getting little things? I want such a man at Paris.

You may send me any thing too large for the post, by the diligence to Calais; under cover to *monsieur Leguillon, négociant, à Calais.*

Vale, et me ama!

LETTER VI.

Friday, August 7, 1778.

I RECEIVED your little note of August 3, with the Gazette enclosed; and, before that, the letter to the admiral. I hope two certain papers respecting a great prince's marriage, and general Burgoyne, came to your hands. I grieve much that you have been so ill; according to W.'s account, whom I saw yesterday.

Our country gentlemen are wild about playing at soldiers; and will continue so, I suppose, till the partridge season arrives. Then no more *firing* but *shooting*.

I am well; no fever, no stranguary: but '*steeped in poverty to the very lips*;' yet far from poor in spirit,—on the contrary, as determined and inflexible, and more high-spirited than when you saw me.

Heaven bless you! and bring us together to laugh down more summer suns, and cheat dull winter nights with grace and beauty.

I shall soon send you an interesting volume: *en attendant*, the best wishes and thanks.

Adieu!

LETTER VII.

Friday, Sept. 17, 1779.

I RECEIVED the favour of your letter and the packet, my dear Petrie, on Wednesday noon; and embrace the first opportunity of writing to you by Ostend.—I am afraid the publication you intend will be hurtful to you in this country; and in America, where the Lees have great influence. The affair has not been the subject of conversation in this country, and the critical situation of the two nations surely makes your particular case very delicate. A paper war in which your name is to be found in every other line, is surely to be avoided; and would fix the public attention upon you in a manner which might defeat some favourite and important plans. I ought not to add more by

the post. I am clearly of opinion that the publication should not take place.

If you determine otherwise, I have no scruple of correcting the press, and answering for the exactness of the publication conformably to your manuscript; but I cannot answer for the secrecy of any printer, nor that it will not be retailed in the newspapers. If you mean an appeal to the public, you had better give the whole in the newspapers, for the certainty of the circulation at no expence; and the 100 copies might be sent according to your direction. The public will immediately call for the letters of Mr. Arthur Lee, and of Mr. Lee's friend; which are not in your collection. They both will reply: and *voilà un joli amusement pour le reste de* 1779, *et au moins pour toute l'année* 1780! Messrs. Norris, Graff, Pollard, and Bush, will be thought equally peaceable and prudent men; yielding to every little difficulty of carriages and horses in such a place as Valenciennes, and dextrously preventing the parties seeing each other when they came so long a journey on purpose,—not to add the calamities of the

great destructive period. It would more than amuse the military in France. The principals are out of the question: they are always governed by the seconds. I should be unworthy of your friendship, if I did not thus submit to you, and you only, my unbiassed and cool opinion. The determination is with you.

It is a mistake that Mr. Fox mentioned any letter from Dr. Franklin, as the *evidence* of the treaty being signed. He barely asserted *the fact*, as incontrovertible.—I hear of a thundering memorial against this country from Spain. I wish you would send it me by way of Ostend, with cropt margins. I shall send you by the same way any thing particular which does not find its way into our public prints.

Adieu!

LETTER VIII.

Oct. 26, 1779.

I RECEIVED, my dear Petrie, the favour of your letter by Mr. Hogan on Sunday morning, and feel the truest anxiety on account of your manuscript. I look forward to your abiding-place here, and therefore would not have any event created by yourself in the least interfere with future pleasing prospects. The publication I consider in this light; and I am sure it would be condemned as a rash and unnecessary measure, not called for by any attack on you, or even hints to your disadvantage (as far as I know). Every part of the transaction is almost universally unknown. After this, send only your orders, and they shall be obeyed. It will always be pleasing to me to be employed in your service. I am more than I can express to you earnest in your interests, and be assured that nothing can warp me from what I think I see is for your real advantage.

Adieu!

LETTER IX.

South Parade, Bath, Jan. 2, 1780.

In my little excursion here for the holidays I had the pleasure, my dear Petrie, of receiving your letter of December 13. No congratulation on my late success could be more welcome to me. It is a post adequate, after the payment of my debts, to every wish I can form at fifty-three: profit, patronage, and extensive usefulness, with rank and dignity.

Mr. Bull has been dangerously ill for many weeks at Brighthelmstone, but is now recovering. I have been very unworthily treated by him.

Many thanks for the last edition *du roi*. I sigh for Beaumarchais's suppressed pamphlet relative to the *Mémoire Justificatif*.

I sent you the Observer; which you do not mention having received. It was done by a friend of yours,—*con amore, con studio, con diligenza*.

I called at your brother Martin's; and, as he was not at home, left word that I had some papers of your writing to shew him any morning when he would do me the favour of calling in Prince's-court: but I have heard nothing, nor seen him since.

Adieu, dear Petrie, adieu!

LETTER X.

MY DEAR PETRIE, Friday, May 5, 1780.

I BELIEVE that there will be no opposition to the chamberlain of London, either at Midsummer-day or at the general election. His prospect into futurity for the eve of life is pleasing; and he most ardently wishes to have as agreeable a perspective for the meridian and setting (after a long future unclouded period) of his dear friend at Paris. He hopes too for it in his native land, and in his engaging society.

Parliamentary meetings, committees, and associations, engross our whole time.

Adieu!

PRESENTS TO MR. WILKES.

LETTER I.

Basseterre, in the Island of St. Christopher,
DEAR SIR, March 26, 1769.

I WROTE to you from Madeira, which I hope you received. The bearer of this, Mr. Roxo, is a gentleman who has the sincerest regard for you. There is a considerable sum actually subscribed for you in this island, and which Mr. Roxo will particularly inform you of. I shall not be wanting in my endeavours to get this money collected and remitted to you as soon as possible.

Believe me, as ever,
dear sir,
your most sincere and faithful
J. GARDINER.

[This gentleman was a barrister of the Inner Temple, London. He was in Mr. Wilkes's house when all his papers were seized by the

messengers acting under the general warrant. He wrote a statement of the transactions to which he was thus a witness, and affirmed the same upon oath; which he put into Mr. Wilkes's hands, because he was under the necessity of going to the West Indies.]

LETTER II.

DEAR SIR, Trowbridge, May 11, 1774.

YOUR information is just with respect to the opposition I have met with in executing our friend Mr. Temple's will. One point I have resolved on, however, in spite of the united knavery of my competitors, and the chicane of the law; viz. that no efforts of this sort shall in the least retard your receipt of the testator's generous benefaction. With this view I shall combat every obstacle, in order to serve whom the defunct highly esteemed.

I am, dear sir,
your friend and servant,
THOMAS CLARK.

LETTER III.

DEAR SIR, Trowbridge, May 26, 1774.

I HAVE by this day's post dispatched full powers to my friend Mr. Edward Jeffries, Blackwell-hall factor, in Lothbury; and he is accordingly commissioned to accept of your release, and to pay you a draft to the full amount of the late Mr. Temple's benefaction.

I am,

dear sir,

your friend and servant,

THOMAS CLARK.

[Mr. Clark was executor to Mr. Temple. The benefaction was three hundred pounds.]

LETTER IV.

To Messrs. Hankey and Partners, Fenchurch-street, London.

Charles-Town, South-Carolina,
GENTLEMEN, 9th of December, 1769.

THE Assembly of this province having yesterday, in a very full house, voted ten thousand five hundred pounds this currency, to be remitted to Great Britain for the support of the interest and constitutional rights and liberties of the people of Great Britain and America, and applied to us to carry their resolution into execution:—We, being certain that it is their intention to present that sum to the supporters of the bill of rights*; to assist them in carrying on the great and good intention, do enclose you the following bills of exchange for fifteen hundred pounds sterling (equal to the above-mentioned sum in currency), which you will please to pay to the order of that society.

The bills are,—a bill for one thousand pounds

* Some account of this society has been given in vol. iv. p. 7, of the present work.

sterling, drawn by Inglis and Lloyd on Champion and Brice, merchants in Bristol; payable at thirty days sight in London to Jacob Motte, and indorsed by him: and a bill for five hundred pounds sterling, drawn by Robert Smyth on Anthony Fernandez and Co. in London, payable at thirty days sight to Jacob Motte, and likewise indorsed by him to you.

We shall be much obliged to you, gentlemen, to signify immediately to Mr. Robert Morris, secretary to the supporters of the bill of rights, the remittance that we now make you, that the society may be informed thereof; and also to favour us with a line, under cover, to Peter Manigault, esq. acknowledging the receipt of the enclosed bills.

We are, gentlemen,
your most humble servants,

PETER MANIGAULT.
CHRISTOPHER GADDSDEN.
J. RUTLEDGE.
JAMES PARSONS.
THOMAS FERGUSON.
BENJ. DART.
THOMAS LYNCH.

[Some gentlemen of Newcastle made a subscription, amounting to one hundred pounds, which they remitted also to the Society for the same purpose.]

LETTER V.

"Cave, Maiden-lane, Covent-garden,
15th December, 1768.

"THE gentlemen of this place, in testimony of their indignation at the dangerous and unconstitutional manner in which Mr. Wilkes has been treated, and as a small token of their abhorrence thereof, request his acceptance of the enclosed twenty guineas, and a hamper of their liquor."

[While Mr. Wilkes was confined in the king's-bench prison he received many private presents. The duchess of Queensberry (pa-

troness of Gay, &c.) sent him one hundred pounds; and lady Elizabeth Germain also transmitted to him a similar donation. Not till some years after his enlargement did he know from whom these sums came; but when lord Temple died, the editor thought himself at liberty to inform him.

Wine of all sorts, game and wild fowl, fruit, turkies, poultry, &c., were sent to him almost daily from most parts of England.]

LETTER VI.

Middleton, West-Lothian,
27th April, 1770.

SIR,

THOUGH I have thought proper to retire for these two years past from a scene of action in which the peculiarity of my situation would not admit of my being useful to the great cause which I flatter myself you have sincerely at heart, yet I cannot deny myself the pleasure

of congratulating you on your release from a long and tedious imprisonment.

Whatever disapprobation your juvenile follies may have occasioned, must be now entirely done away by the length of your sufferings, and the intrepidity of your conduct in defence of your just rights and the indefeasible franchises of your fellow-citizens.

From my tenderest youth I have been smitten by those principles which brought my forefathers, both in England and Scotland, so great a harvest of honour and glory. Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the regent Mar, haunt my imagination with an ambition to deserve the relation in which I stand to these illustrious patriots, by an imitation of their virtues.

It gave me pleasure to hear that a sister of mine at Bath had shewn that attention to your daughter, which any of your family had a right to expect from mine.

I remain, with respect,

Sir,

your most obedient humble servant,

BUCHAN.

LETTER VII.

St. John's, Oxford,
December 19, 1770.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE taken this opportunity of conveying to you Warton's edition of Theocritus, by a friend who is going to London. The castrated sheet which you mention is enclosed in it, and I hope the whole will prove entertaining to you. When you mention my giving you credit for it, you make me quite ashamed. Though you seem to have forgotten them, I shall always remember myself how much your favours to me exceed any return that I can make. I should be extremely glad to make my personal acknowledgments for them at St. John's; and am always,

dear sir,

your most obliged

and affectionate humble servant,

THOMAS FRY.

LETTER VIII.

Great Queen-street, 18th March.

SIR ROBERT STRANGE presents his compliments to Mr. Wilkes, and begs his acceptance of the three prints which he has lately finished, and with which he closes his labours.

LETTER IX.

DEAR SIR,

I AM very unhappy that I can't have the pleasure of meeting you to-day; but an unforeseen affair, which obliges me to be at home, will prevent me. If you knew (as I trust you partly do) how much I prefer good fellowship to business and ceremony, you would pity me. Had not the holiday nonsense confined me to the theatre, I should have made my excuses in person: but you must let me be no loser by this accident; and when I have the pleasure of see-

ing you, I must desire that a time may be appointed when we may

Laugh and play, and tell old Folly, &c.

I am,
dear sir,
yours most truly,
D. GARRICK.

LETTER X.

Adelphi, Thursday Night,
Christmas Week.

DEAR SIR,

As I flatter myself that you have some regard for me, I will shew mine for you; and not take your friendship unawares, lest you indulge it (which, *entre nous*, you are likely enough to do) at the expence of your patriotism.

My friends and neighbours, the Adamses, have solicited me to desire your interest with the

lord-mayor, that they may be permitted to draw their lottery in Guildhall.

Had my cold permitted me to leave home, I should have asked the favour in person; but for the reasons above, it is much better that I petition this way. Pray let me have a line from you, if agreeable, which I may shew to my neighbours.

I am much yours,

but miss Wilkes's more,

D. GARRICK.

Does miss Wilkes remember that Mrs. Garrick is to wait upon her to-morrow, between five and six, and to have the honour of her company in her box to the new play? There will be a place for *your honour*, if you are at leisure.

THE CITY CUP.

In the year 1772, the city of London presented Mr. Wilkes with a silver cup, value one hundred pounds; for his defence of freedom in the case of the printers, in the month of March last.

This matter had its origin in a circumstance that happened some years before; and which, from its connection with this subsequent transaction, it will be proper to relate here.

During the time of Mr. Wilkes's exile in France and other places, he corresponded with Mr. Almon*. In the progress of this intercourse Mr. Wilkes sent to his friend, besides several important papers, some minor pieces of wit and humour, which were printed in the public newspapers; and among these was a short paragraph stating, "that although the earl of Hertford was the English ambassador at Paris, and David Hume was his secretary, yet his Scottish chaplain, the reverend James

* Vol. iii. page 123, &c. of the present work.

Trail, administered to the English subjects in spirituals there." No man upon earth would suspect that this silly thing could possibly become a subject of complaint in the house of lords: yet, upon the motion of the earl of Marchmont, it was resolved that this paragraph was a breach of privilege; and the printer of the London Evening Post, in which paper it had appeared, was fined one hundred pounds (besides fees, amounting to about sixty pounds more)*.

On the meeting of the new parliament, in the year 1769, some occasional sketches of the proceedings of the house of commons were printed in the London Evening Post. Other newspapers, in a short time, followed the example; and this practice continued till March 1771.

In that month colonel George Onslow made a formal complaint to the house, that several printers of newspapers had printed their debates and proceedings; particularly R. Thompson, printer

* Mr. Almon was a proprietor of this newspaper.

of the Gazetteer, and John Wheble, printer of the Middlesex Journal. Both these persons were ordered to attend the house; but they refused to obey the summons, and secreted themselves. The house of commons addressed the king to issue a proclamation for apprehending them; and this paper, which was both illegal and ridiculous, the reader may see in the note*.

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* BY THE KING.

A PROCLAMATION, FOR APPREHENDING JOHN WHEBLE AND R. THOMPSON.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS on the 8th of February last, complaint being made to the house of commons of the printed newspaper, intitled "The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, Friday February 8, 1771, printed for R. Thompson;" and also of the printed newspaper, intitled "The Middlesex Journal, or Chronicle of Liberty, from Tuesday February 5, to Thursday February 7, 1771, printed for J. Wheble;" as misrepresenting the speeches, and reflecting on several of the members, of the said house, in contempt of the order, and in breach of the privilege, of the said house: it was ordered, that the said J. Wheble and R. Thompson should attend the said house of com-

One of the printers suffered himself to be taken by one of his own servants. He was carried to Guildhall before Mr. Wilkes, who

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mons; and not having obeyed the said order, it was thereupon ordered, by the said house of commons, that the said J. Wheble and R. Thompson should be taken into the custody of the serjeant-at-arms attending the said house, or his deputy:—And whereas the said deputy serjeant having informed the house that he had not been able to meet with the said J. Wheble and R. Thompson, or either of them, though he had been several times at their respective houses, and had made diligent search after them, to take them into custody; a humble address hath been presented to Us by the knights, citizens, and burgesses, and the commissioners for shires and burgs, in parliament assembled, that We would be graciously pleased to issue Our royal proclamation for apprehending the said J. Wheble and R. Thompson, with a promise of a reward for the same:—We have thought fit, by and with the advice of Our privy council, to issue this Our royal proclamation, hereby requiring and commanding all Our loving subjects whatever, to discover and apprehend, or cause the said J. Wheble and R. Thompson, or either of them, to be discovered and apprehended, and to carry him or them before some of Our justices of the peace, or chief magistrates of the

discharged him. The proceedings at Guildhall the reader will also find in the note.

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county, town, or place, where he or they shall be apprehended; who are respectively required to secure the said J. Wheble and R. Thompson, and thereof give speedy notice to one of Our principal secretaries of state, to the end he or they may be forthcoming, to be dealt withal and proceeded against according to law. And for the prevention of an escape of the said J. Wheble and R. Thompson, or either of them, into parts beyond the seas, We do require and command all Our officers of the customs, and other Our officers and subjects of and in Our respective ports and maritime towns and places within Our kingdom of Great Britain, that they, and every of them, in their respective places and stations, be careful and diligent in the examination of all persons that shall pass or endeavour to pass beyond the seas; and if they shall discover the said J. Wheble and R. Thompson, or either of them, then to cause him or them to be apprehended and secured, and to give notice thereof as aforesaid. And We do hereby strictly charge and command all Our loving subjects, as they will answer the contrary at their perils, that they do not any ways conceal, but do discover him or them, the said J. Wheble and R. Thompson, to the end he or they may be secured. And for the encouragement of all persons to be diligent and careful in endeavouring to discover and

Colonel Onslow having declared that he intended to bring before the house every printer who had printed any of the debates or pro-

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apprehend the said J. Wheble and R. Thompson, We do hereby further declare that whosoever shall discover and apprehend the said J. Wheble and R. Thompson, or either of them, within three weeks from the date hereof, and shall bring him or them before some justice of the peace, or chief magistrate as aforesaid, shall have and receive as a reward for the discovery, apprehending, and bringing the said J. Wheble and R. Thompson, or either of them, before such justice of the peace or chief magistrate as aforesaid, the sum of fifty pounds for each; which Our commissioners of Our treasury are hereby required and directed to pay accordingly.

Given at Our court at St. James's, the 8th day of March, 1771, in the eleventh year of Our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Extract from the Guildhall Rota Book.

Guildhall, March 15, 1771.

John Wheble, the publisher of the Middlesex Journal, was this day brought before Mr. alderman Wilkes, at Guildhall, by Edward Twine Carpenter, a printer, being apprehended by him in consequence of a proclamation in the London Gazette of Saturday the 9th of March

ceedings of parliament, in order that they might receive the punishment of their contumacy; it was immediately concerted between

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instant: but the said Edward Twine Carpenter not having any other reason for apprehending the said Mr. Wheble than what appeared in that proclamation, the said Mr. Wheble was discharged; and then the said Mr. Wheble charged Carpenter for assaulting and unlawfully imprisoning him; and on his making oath of the offence, and entering into a recognizance to prosecute Carpenter at the next session in London, Carpenter was ordered to find sureties to answer for this offence, which he did, himself in 40*l.* and his two sureties in 20*l.* each, and was thereupon discharged.—Carpenter requested a certificate of his having apprehended Wheble; which was given to him.

(*Copy.*) "Guildhall, March 15, 1771.

"This is to certify that John Wheble, the publisher of the Middlesex Journal, was this day apprehended and brought before me, one of his majesty's justices of the peace for the city of London, by Edward Twine Carpenter, of Hosier-lane, London, printer.

JOHN WILKES, alderman."

[Carpenter carried this certificate to the treasury, but could not obtain the reward.]

Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Almon, that if the printer of the London Evening Post should be complained of, a serious, a bold, and a strong re-

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IMMEDIATELY after this, Mr. Wilkes wrote the following.

"To the right hon. the earl of Halifax, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

"Guildhall of London, March 15, 1771.

"MY LORD,

"I HAD the honour of officiating this day as the sitting justice at Guildhall. John Wheble, the publisher of the Middlesex Journal, a freeman of London, was apprehended and brought before me by Edward Twine Carpenter, who appears to be neither a constable nor peace-officer of this city. I demanded of what crime Wheble was accused; and if oath had been made of his having committed any felony, or breach of the peace; or if he lay under a suspicion strong enough to justify his apprehension or detention. Carpenter answered that he did not accuse Wheble of any crime, but had apprehended him merely in consequence of his majesty's proclamation; for which he claimed the reward of 50*l.* As I found that there was no legal cause of complaint against Wheble, I thought it clearly my duty to adjudge that he had been apprehended in the city illegally, in direct

sistance should be made *. The plan was this:—that if the printer should be served with an order to attend the house of commons, he was to pay no regard to it: that if the house sent a mes-

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violation of the rights of an Englishman, and of the chartered privileges of a citizen of this metropolis; and to discharge him. He then made a formal complaint of the assault upon him by Carpenter; I therefore bound him over to prosecute, in a recognizance of 40*l.*; and Carpenter to appear and answer the complaint at the next quarter-session of the peace for this city, in a recognizance of 40*l.* himself, with two sureties in recognizances of 20*l.* each.

"I am, my lord,

your lordship's most obedient,

humble servant,

JOHN WILKES."

* They were perfectly aware that colonel Onslow was only the instrument in this matter. The project was deeper laid. The measure originated in the same invisible quarter from which lord Marchmont's instructions had been drawn. We are yet too near the time to state the particulars of these facts.

senger to apprehend him, he was to have a constable in readiness to take the messenger into custody; and that then they were to proceed to the mansion-house, where Mr. Wilkes and the lord-mayor (Crosby) would attend for the purpose. The plan was mentioned to Mr. alderman Oliver, who also acquiesced in it.

Circumstances happened exactly as had been foreseen. The printer being ordered to attend the house of commons, he acted according to his instructions: and when the messenger afterwards came to take him into custody, he gave *him* in charge to the constable, and they proceeded to the mansion-house, where the lord-mayor, Mr. Wilkes, and Mr. Oliver, attended; and after hearing the case, they discharged the printer (as a citizen of London) from the custody of the messenger. The printer, in his turn, now charged the messenger with a breach of the peace; and he was bound in the usual manner to prosecute. The messenger was desired to give bail for this offence; which he refused: a mittimus was there-

fore made out, and signed by the lord-mayor and messrs. Wilkes and Oliver, for his commitment to Wood-street counter. But by this time the deputy serjeant-at-arms, who had been sent for, had arrived at the mansion-house; and he gave the required bail for the messenger.

The ministry, and their party in the house of commons, were enraged at this violent resistance to their power. The proceedings in parliament on this subject having been detailed in various publications, it is necessary only to state them very shortly here.

The house resolved that the lord-mayor and alderman Oliver had been guilty of a breach of privilege. And they resolved also, that the lord-mayor and Mr. alderman Oliver should be committed to the Tower: but as to Mr. Wilkes, they did not choose to meddle with him; for though they ordered him to attend on a particular day, yet it was contrived (by an adjournment) that the house did not sit on that day:—so the matter, as far as related

to him, was let drop. The truth is, they were afraid to proceed against him.

The lord-mayor and Mr. Oliver were committed to the Tower: where they were visited by all the lords, and members of the house of commons, who were in opposition to the measures of the ministry; and by great numbers of other gentlemen. They also received addresses, containing expressions of the highest approbation, and of the warmest thanks, from every ward in the city. On the day of their enlargement (which was the day of the prorogation of parliament) they were further honoured with a brilliant and splendid cavalcade and procession to the mansion-house: the city was illuminated, and every mark of rejoicing was displayed. This was a victory over undefined power.

This struggle concerning the printing of the debates in parliament, forms an era of some interest in the English history. With respect to the house of commons, it is certainly a fair and constitutional question,—Have not the

constituents a right to know the parliamentary proceedings of their representatives?

Parliament itself seems to have acknowledged the affirmative of this question. For, from this time, the debates in both houses have been constantly printed in all the London newspapers, and copied into all the provincial ones; and ministers have wisely drawn from this measure a very respectable article of revenue, by increasing the duties on the stamps and the advertisements, the circulation of those journals having been without doubt greatly extended by this head of their contents.

To return now to our more immediate subject.—At a court of common council of the city of London, held on the 24th of January 1772, the corporation voted a Silver Cup to Mr. Wilkes, for his defence of freedom in the case of the printers: and left the design to his own direction. The death of Cesar in the Roman senate was the subject of his choice—as certainly one of the greatest sacrifices to public liberty recorded in history. The dagger was

placed in the first quarter of the city arms: this furnished the hint of

"The *dagger* wont to pierce the tyrant's breast."

POPE.

Julius Cesar is represented in the vase as he is described by all historians in that important moment; gracefully covering himself with the *toga*, and falling at the base of a pedestal which supports the statue of Pompey. Brutus, Cassius, and the other noble Romans who conspired to restore freedom to their country, form a circle around the body of Cesar. Every eye is fixed on Brutus; who is in the attitude of congratulating Cicero on the recovery of the public liberty, and pointing to the prostrate and expiring usurper. At the bottom of the vase is the following inscription, encircled with myrtle and oak leaves:

..... May every tyrant feel
The keen deep searchings of a patriot's steel*!

CHURCHILL.

* Vol. iii. pages 21, 22, of the present work.

APPLICATIONS TO MR. WILKES.

LETTER I.

SIR, July 28, 1769.

BARON SWIETON, imperial minister at the court of Poland, desires the honour of paying a visit to you. He is the son of the famous Van Swieton, physician to the empress-queen; and is a gentleman of extensive knowledge. I have accepted the charge of procuring him this pleasure, as I know how much you regard people of distinguished merit; therefore if you will be so good to let me know when it suits you to grant the baron this wished-for visit, I shall do myself the honour to conduct him.

I am, most gratefully, sir,

your most obedient

humble servant,

VINCENT MASTIVELLI.

LETTER II.

DEAR SIR, Aylesbury, Feb. 9, 1770.

DR. STEPHENS's death has made a vacancy in the school, and I wish I could hope for the pleasure of your presence at the meeting of the trustees for the election of a master to succeed him. I hope your evil days are nearly at an end; and that, when you enjoy the goddess yourself you so ardently wish may be possessed by all others, you will visit this place, and make my house your home. I beg you will present my best compliments to miss Wilkes.

I am, dear sir,

your much obliged

and most obedient servant,

W. PUGH.

I thank you much for the pamphlets you sent me.

LETTER III.

SIR, London, May 25, 1773.

THE late Mr. Temple, of Trowbridge, having in his will left 2000*l.* for the establishment of a professorship of trade, political agriculture, &c. and vested it, with the appointment of the professor, in the lord-mayor and court of aldermen; may I take the liberty of requesting your vote and interest upon the election of such professor?

Not having the pleasure of being personally known to you, I must depend merely on that public character a man gains who ventures to publish his opinions. The design of Mr. Temple is entirely in my line of inquiry; and the works I have sent into the world are consistent with the principles laid down by that gentleman in his tract, "A Vindication of Commerce, and the Arts." If I am successful in my application, I shall be ready to undertake any public performance that may be thought

conducive to the cause Mr. Temple meant to patronize.

I am, sir,
your most obedient
and devoted servant,
ARTHUR YOUNG.

LETTER IV.

MY DEAR FRIEND, Friday, August 3d, 1775.

I CAN hardly persuade myself that it is necessary to caution so *adroit* a man as Mr. Wilkes, to be ready to ask for any other preferment which his lordship may be inclined to give, provided he either refuses Gravesend, or says it is already given away: but I think it highly necessary to furnish him with an account of the regularity of my education, for fear he should start a demurrer on that point. I am told he has set his face against several applications made on behalf of men not academically trained to the profession. There is nothing in the enclosed paper but what is

strictly true; and what, I am confident, the archbishop of York, or any of the present masters of Westminster-school, will be ready to certify. The warm and unsolicited manner in which you pressed me to permit you to make the application, will always be a strong proof how truly and sincerely you have wished to serve your obliged humble servant,

JOS. WILLIAMSON.

Enclosure.

'He now possesses the vicarage of St. Dun-'stan in the West; a living of small value, 'in the gift of his own family, which he ac-'cepted at an early period of life; thereby 'giving up the certainty of a valuable fel-'lowship, and the probability of a situation 'far superior to what he holds at present.'

LETTER V.

Cotton Garden,

DEAR SIR, Sunday, March 1776.

I ASK pardon for troubling you at this moment of hurry and employment; but I hope you will excuse it, as I am desired

by a lady to make application to you for your interest and nomination of a boy into Bridewell at Easter next. I told her I had no right to ask such a favour from you for myself: but she still persisted. I can only therefore say, that if you have it in your power to comply with her request, you will oblige me; and will have a right, in return, to hear the sweetest voice and best singer this country ever produced,—I mean miss Blossett, who is your petitioner.

I am, sir,
your most obedient,
humble servant,
J. HATSELL.

LETTER VI.

Crown-street, Westminster,
November 19, 1776.

DR. KIPPIS* presents his most respectful compliments to Mr. Wilkes, and will be much

* The editor of the new edition of the Biographia Britannica.

obliged to him for any direction or assistance in writing the life of the late eminent poet Mr. Charles Churchill. Perhaps also Mr. Wilkes may be able to inform the editor where he may obtain materials for some account of Mr. Baxter, author of "Matho" and other publications*.

LETTER VII.

SIR, May 2, 1792.

I BEG leave to solicit you in behalf of Mr. William Stevens, of Grafton-street, Soho. I believe him to be a young man of excellent character, and well deserving of the favour he begs,—to be admitted, upon proper and suf-

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* This gentleman has been mentioned in vol. i. pages 13 to 16 of the present work.

The life of Mr. Churchill in the Biographia Britannica was principally written by Mr. Wilkes; and he contributed considerably to the account of Mr. Baxter in the same collection.

ficient security, to partake of the advantage of (I believe) Mr. Wilson's money.

I am, sir,

your obliged humble servant,

J. HORNE TOOKE.

LETTER VIII.

DEAR SIR, Grosvenor-square, March 26, 1793.

I CALLED upon you yesterday to ask a favour of you, without much pretension, or (from the nature of it) much more prospect of success. Lady Sydney is extremely desirous to get a boy, the son of two old servants of ours (the father dead), into Christ's Hospital. He is not the son of a freeman; but we have a chance of getting a presentation for him, if we could get one for a freeman's son in exchange.

This is the whole state of the case. If you can assist me, it will be a most sensible obligation upon us both; as the parents were very faithful good servants, and the boy's situation

is an unpromising one. I will not make my letter more tedious by apologies for my application; flattering myself that I know you well enough to be persuaded that you will have pleasure in obliging an old acquaintance if it is in your power.

I am, with great truth and regard,

dear sir,

your most obedient

humble servant,

SYDNEY.

LETTER IX.

DEAR SIR, May 20, 1793.

IF you can assist Mr. Samuel Wyat, who is a candidate for the office of surveyor to the hospital of Bridewell, I shall feel it as a very sensible obligation. My inducement to give you this trouble is his recommendation; be-

cause it is the obligation I have to his skill and integrity in his profession of surveyor.

I remain, dear sir,
with great regard,
your most faithful
and obedient servant,
THURLOW.

LETTER X.

DEAR SIR, Downing-street, 23d July, 1795.

As you havee much practice in the way of solicitation, and as you are pretty well accustomed to importunity, you will, I trust, receive without much displeasure a request I am about to make. I understand that the living of Albrighton, in the gift of Christ's Hospital, will be declared vacant next week. The reverend Mr. Trollope means to offer himself as a candidate. I have had peculiar opportunities of knowing his talents and worth, from his having lived for nearly two years in my family as

tutor to my son; and I can confidently say, that there is not a more deserving man in every respect. From the connection which thus subsists between us, I am naturally led to do what I can to serve him on this occasion; and I am sure I cannot do this more effectually than by endeavouring to prevail upon you to give him your vote and interest. Should you be inclined to exert them in his favour, our efforts may, perhaps, be more than when our united votes were formerly given in favour of Mr. Hastings: a circumstance which both my conviction at the time, and the subsequent event, have rendered a matter of pride and exultation. Allow me to add, that I shall always consider the assistance given to Mr. Trollope on this occasion as an obligation.

I have the honour to be,
with great respect,
dear sir,
your most obedient
humble servant,
J. B. BURGES.

[AMONG Mr. Wilkes's papers there are an infinite number of similar applications; but these are sufficient to shew the respect paid to him, and the opinion entertained of his consequence and influence.]

SANDOWN COTTAGE.

THE situation of chamberlain affording to Mr. Wilkes a comfortable subsistence, he wished for a country residence during the relaxation of the summer months. The change of atmosphere he conceived would contribute to his health. The part of England to which he was most attached was the Isle of Wight; and though he had several times visited that island in the hope of finding some agreeable place, it was not till the month of May 1788 that he fortuitously met with one. He at that time saw an advertisement in one of the newspapers, of a cottage to let in Sandown-bay, at the south-east end of the Isle of Wight, in the parish of Brading; which, by the description, he thought would suit him: and he immediately made the proper application,—to colonel James Barker (now general Barker), of Stickworth, in the Isle of Wight, who was the proprietor.

The cottage had been in the possession of the earl of Winchilsea during the last six years, but was now empty. Mr. Wilkes and colonel Barker were soon agreed in the terms; and a lease was granted him for fourteen years (expiring on the 5th of April, 1802), in which was only this covenant: "whatever alterations Mr. Wilkes wishes to make, leave is granted—so that the whole premises are not lessened in value."

He fitted up this cottage agreeably to his own taste. He improved and embellished the rooms, and placed some inscriptions,—one of which was to his incomparable and accomplished daughter, in these words:

TO

FILIAL PIETY

AND

MARY WILKES,

ERECTED BY

JOHN WILKES,

MDCCLXXXIX.

In a room which he called the Tuscan room, was also the following:

FORTVNÆ REDVCI,
ET
CIVITATI LONDINENSI,
P.
JOHANNES WILKES, QUÆSTOR,
MDCCLXXXIX.

In the shrubbery was a Doric column, with an inscription in which he thus characterizes his friend Churchill:

CAROLO CHURCHILL:
DIVINO POETÆ,
AMICO JVCVNDO,
CIVI OPTIME DE PATRIA MERITO.

In this cottage (or *villakin*, as he usually termed it) he passed the pleasantest hours which he had enjoyed since the period of his adversities. He was here, he said, perfectly happy, with a few intelligent friends, and a well-chosen library.

LETTERS TO MR. WILKES.

MY DEAR SIR, Priory, Tuesday.

ONE indulgence granted will ever lead to the request of another. Sir George Baker has given so flattering an account of your reception of him, for which I truly thank you, that I cannot refuse three fair ladies, Mrs. and miss Gore and miss Wyndham, the request they make of being introduced to you and miss Wilkes, and being permitted to see the beauties of your place. I hope you will excuse the liberty I take; and believe me,

dear sir,

yours ever,

NASH GROSE.

MY DEAR SIR, Old Windsor.

YOU always diffuse life and spirit wherever you are: therefore I regretted very much your absence at the meeting at Enfield on Monday;

and the more so, as we had a gentleman I never met with before at that place. I think we were not so numerous as usual. Mr. Byng favoured us with his company; and assisted in drinking the members for the county of Middlesex, standing, with three loud huzzas.

You describe yourself as settled in a very inviting situation. Believe me, if I could visit you, the pleasure of paying my respects to miss Wilkes and yourself would be a sufficient temptation, without the beauties held out to allure me; but I have set out within this half-hour with a large party to a friend's house in Oxfordshire, where I shall stay some time. I admire your woods, lawns, meadows, &c. and hope you will have health and spirits to enjoy them and every other pleasing variety chance may throw in your way.

I am, dear sir, with best compliments to miss Wilkes,

your faithful

and obedient servant,

W. MAINWARING.

PECUNIARY DISTRESSES.

BEFORE Mr. Wilkes was elected chamberlain his pecuniary circumstances were very limited: he was sometimes distressed for a guinea. A private subscription was then made by his friends in the corporation, and a few others towards his support; and this fund, as far as it went, occasionally relieved his embarrassments. But private subscriptions in this mode are never considerable; and they frequently, if not always, gradually diminish. Quarterly or annual payments are not punctually observed, and particularly when they are in some degree confidential. That Mr. Wilkes experienced this fluctuation of fortune, many proofs may be given; but the two following letters of alderman Bull are sufficient.

LETTER I.

"DEAR SIR, Sept. 2, 1776.

"I HAVE your receipt for 50*l.* and now enclose you 40*l.*—the odd sum I will give you to-mor-

row. I need not assure you, there is nothing you can ask of me that I will refuse if I can do it with propriety; but my ability is not equal to my inclination. I have, you know, expended very large sums in the public service, which has put it out of my power to act as I wish: you will not therefore, I dare say, desire me to advance any more till I am in cash on your account; which, I am sorry to say, cannot be this year. Reynolds thinks I have already advanced for you more than I am warranted to do.

"I am,

dear sir,

yours sincerely,

FREDERICK BULL.

"I beg my compliments to miss Wilkes."

LETTER II.

"DEAR SIR, Oct. 28, 1776.

"I HAVE been exceedingly unhappy on your account ever since I saw you last; and can with truth say, I never wished to serve you more than at this time,—but prudence prevents. As to cancelling the deed, I think I cannot do it; but I shall have no objection to giving it up to Mr. Hayley, in your and Mr. Reynolds's presence. He may then do with it as he pleases. If the produce of the trust had been sufficient, you should certainly have had the full 600*l.* *per annum*; but as you know I have paid more than I have received, I cannot go further till I receive more.

"As to the cup, I was fearful you might be tempted to place it in the hands of some person for little more than half its value, and not be suffered to redeem it when you were willing. Rather than this, I wished to keep it for you, at least for the present. If you approve sending it me, I will return you a draft for 50*l.* on

account of it. I need not say to you, that I don't want to purchase it at that price. I would much sooner give you 50*l.* more than the value, than take it of you 50*l.* under. I only mean to stop the gap for the present, which I hope you will soon be able to do yourself. I am myself so poorly, (and not bettered by thinking of your unhappy situation,) that I scarce know what I write, except when I say

I am,

dear sir,

yours most sincerely,

FREDERICK BULL."

Notwithstanding Mr. Bull's plea of advance of money, it was a current opinion at the time, that his advances on Mr. Wilkes's account were not so extensive as was reported; and it is known that for the greatest part, if not for the whole, he was reimbursed from the fund.

Mr. Wilkes's embarrassments continued till he was elected chamberlain, in the month of

December, 1779. This happy circumstance raised him above want, and made him easy and independent.

He placed his daughter, miss Harriet Wilkes, and her mother, Mrs. Arnold, at Kensington: but afterwards obtaining the lease of a house at Kensington-Gore, he removed them to it; and at short intervals resided there, directing and superintending the education of his daughter Harriet, to whom he shewed the most affectionate attention.

GROSVENOR-SQUARE.

HAVING made himself comfortable in the summer months in the Isle of Wight, Mr. Wilkes changed his winter-residence in London, in the year 1790; from Prince's-court, in Great George-street, Westminster, to a house in Grosvenor-square, the corner of South-Audley-street,—a salubrious situation, and better suited to the preservation of his health.

Here he resided with his daughter during the winter months for several years; constantly walking to Guildhall every day when his duty required his attendance, in which he was strictly diligent and perfectly regular. Perhaps a more punctual, patient, penetrating, and discriminating chamberlain has not filled the office during the last century. As a magistrate also he was equally able, assiduous, candid, and just. In these capacities he has not left a rival.

HIS DEATH.

He died on the 26th of December, 1797, at his house in Grosvenor-square, after a short illness. He met death with exemplary calmness and fortitude. His remains were interred in a vault in Grosvenor Chapel, South-Audley-street. A hearse, three mourning coaches, and his daughter's carriage, formed the procession. Six poor men carried the corpse to the grave; for which they were rewarded with a guinea and a suit of clothes each.

On the coffin-plate was this inscription:

JOHN WILKES, ESQ. F. R. S.
ALDERMAN OF THE WARD OF
FARRINGDON-WITHOUT,
CHAMBERLAIN OF LONDON,
AND LORD-MAYOR 1775,
DIED DECEMBER 26, 1797,
AGED 70 YEARS.

And on a plain marble tablet is inscribed:

THE REMAINS
OF
JOHN WILKES,
A FRIEND OF LIBERTY:
BORN AT LONDON, OCTOBER 17, 1727, O. S.
DIED IN THIS PARISH
DECEMBER 26, 1797.

In his person he was a little above the middle size: his complexion wassomewhat sallow; and before he died he appeared to be affected by a marasmus. His eyes always possessed an unfortunate cast, which exposed him to the impertinence of rude observers and malignant artists.

In the year 1754 he was high-sheriff for the county of Buckingham. In this situation he made his first essay in municipal and provincial interests; and evinced his qualifications acquired by study and attention to the duties of a magistrate, as well as the politeness of a gentleman.

Ample statements have been given in this work, of the principal events of his life and of the prominent features of his character. To the public he was steady, firm, and faithful. The foibles of his private life affected no public interest, and therefore have not been dilated upon here.

His social qualities will live in the esteem of every one who knew him. An uncommon share of wit, an easy and happy flow of language, and a strong memory, all contributed to make his society a truly elegant and classic entertainment to his friends.

MR. WILKES'S WILL:

WITH

SOME REMARKS UPON IT.

"I JOHN WILKES hereby revoke all former wills, and make this my last will and testament.

"Whereas, by favour of the livery of London, I am chamberlain of the said city; I direct that, in the first place, my undernamed executrix, and executor do adjust all my accounts with the said city, and pay over to my successor in the said office all moneys due from me to the chamber of London at my decease. I likewise direct that all my just debts be discharged.

"I give to Mr. John Smith, now an officer in the service of the East India company, formerly educated under monsieur Lauchoix at Paris, one hundred pounds.—I

give to Mrs. Amelia Arnold the lease of the house at Kensington-Gore, No. 2; with all the household furniture, linen, china, Wedgewood and earthen-ware, plate, prints, pictures, beds, and books; for her sole use and benefit. I give to the said Amelia Arnold the running cash in the said house, and one thousand pounds.—I give to Harriet Wilkes, now living at Kensington-Gore, No. 2, the lease of the house at Sandham, called Sandham Cottage, in the Isle of Wight; with all the household furniture, linen, china, Wedgewood and earthen-ware, plate, prints, pictures, beds, and books; for her sole use and benefit. I give to the said Harriet Wilkes the sum of two thousand pounds when she shall have completed her twenty-first year, and the interest of that sum in the mean time.—I give to William Montague, esq. principal clerk in the office of the chamberlain of London, two hundred pounds.—I give to Henry Parker, esq. of the chamber, twenty pounds; and to Mr. James Boudon ten pounds.—I give to Mr. Charles Montague, son of the said William

Montague, twenty pounds.—I give to Mr. Richard Keys, Mr. James Byfield, and Mr. Thomas Smith, ten pounds each.—I give to all the servants living with me at my decease, five guineas each.—I give the lease of the house in Grosvenor-square; with all household furniture, linen, china, Wedgewood and earthenware, plates, prints, pictures, beds, and books, with any thing else on the premises; to my beloved daughter Mary Wilkes, her heirs and assigns for ever.—I give all my real estates, and the rest of my personal estate, to the said Mary Wilkes, her heirs and assigns for ever.—I desire to be buried in the parish where I die, in great privacy; and carried to the grave by six of the poorest men of the said parish, to each of whom I give a suit of coarse brown cloth and one guinea. I wish that a plain marble may be erected near the place where I shall be buried, with this inscription: "The remains of John Wilkes, a friend of liberty; born at London, Oct. 17, 1727, O. S. died in this parish."—I appoint the said Mary Wilkes executrix, and the said William Mon-

tague executor, to this my last will and testament; which is written with my own hand, and sealed with my seal, this twenty-first day of May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five. JOHN WILKES."

"Signed, sealed, published, and declared by the testator as his last will and testament, in the presence of us, William Fell, Charles Stephens, Edward Lane, May 21, 1795."

"*Proved at London, the 3d February 1798, before the worshipful John Sewell, doctor of laws and surrogate; by the oath of Mary Wilkes, spinster, the daughter and one of the executors, to whom administration was granted, she having been first sworn duly to administer,—William Montague, esq. the other executor, having first renounced.

"GEORGE GOSTLING,
NATH. GOSTLING,
R. C. CRESWELL,
} Deputy Registers."

* From the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

FROM this will it appears that Mr Wilkes must have thought himself in affluent circumstances when he made it. But the world will be greatly surprised to hear the reverse—to hear that he died *insolvent*. This was a thing so totally unknown to his family, so unexpected by all who knew him, that it is no wonder those persons who made the discovery, being appointed to examine his affairs, were so shocked, they could scarcely believe what they read and what they saw.

Mr. Paice was the person made choice of to wait on miss Wilkes, Mrs. Arnold, and miss Harriet Wilkes, with the account of his circumstances. No interview could be more distressing : no language can express the disappointment they felt. He had assured them but a little time before his death, that they would find a considerable balance at his banker's. Undoubtedly he thought so; but he was mistaken in the amount of the debt he owed to the city. The years 1794, 1795, and 1796, were very productive years, were very beneficial to him, and perhaps he might calculate upon those periods. But some of the other years

were very different, and yielded him very little. It should be remembered that he had three establishments to maintain; that in the Isle of Wight, that at Kensington-Gore, and that in Grosvenor-square. Although not personally extravagant himself, he spared no expence on the education of his children. He was a most incomparable father; tender, beneficent, and indulgent: and *their* gratitude reflected no less honour upon him than upon themselves.

Mr. Paice's own account of these matters is perhaps the best that can be given.

"Newington, Surrey,
"DEAR SIR, 11th of August, 1804.

"IN conversation I mentioned to you the inferiority of Mr. Wilkes's property to the public expectation. Let me add, that after payment of his debts and funeral expences, that property did not completely amount to ONE-FIFTH PART of the few moderate legacies which he bequeathed. How irreconcileable to the language which he expressed not long before his death,—

both to the excellent miss Wilkes, to Mrs. Arnold, and to miss Harriet! On the complete confirmation of this unexpected circumstance, I waited (by desire of miss Wilkes) on the two last-mentioned ladies, to announce to them the lamentable inferiority of Mr. Wilkes's circumstances, even to the small pecuniary legacies he had bequeathed. The humility and disinterested resignation with which they met this surprising discovery, and the conversation they held with me, greatly engaged my esteem both to the mother and daughter. The share they both possessed in miss Wilkes's consideration, appears by her will. Miss Harriet associated with miss Wilkes with increasing mutual satisfaction, expressed to me by miss Wilkes in terms very honourable to miss Harriet; and the last hours of the admirable lady's life (miss Wilkes's) were employed in active attention to terminate, with every advantage of her experience and superior abilities, the bequests which her father had left to miss Harriet.

"The circumstances of Mr. Wilkes's narrow fortune, involve a wide compass of opinions

and remarks. No wonder it should appear incredible to the public: it did so to me; who thought it moderate to estimate him at from 8000*l.* to 10,000*l.*

"I enjoy the real satisfaction of serving you to the best of my power. Both my sight and my right hand are so weak that I must hasten to subscribe myself,

dear sir,

your most obedient humble servant,

JOSEPH PAICE."

OF MISS WILKES.

THE following letter, written by Mrs. Hastings on Mr. Wilkes's death, was addressed to Mrs. Motte, of Weymouth-street, Portland-place.

MY DEAR BIBBY, Daylesford, Dec. 29, 1797.

ALAS! it was with deep concern that we read of the death of dear Mr. Wilkes. We feel much for the sufferings of the amiable miss Wilkes. Time, alas! can alone alleviate her sorrows for the loss of so excellent and beloved a father. Will you, my friend, tell her, in our joint name, how truly we sympathize with her in her present sufferings? Tell her from us, that if she could prevail on herself to leave town, and make our house her home, we should be truly happy to receive her, and

we will try to mitigate her afflictions.—Our best and kindest wishes attend her. May heaven give her strength to support her under her present melancholy state! Adieu, my dear Mrs. Motte! You will, I am sure, give to the afflicted all the comfort that lies in your power. God bless you!

Ever yours affectionately,

MARIAN HASTINGS.

Letter from Mrs. Hastings to miss Wilkes, on the same subject.

Daylesford, 19th January, 1798.

ACCEPT, my amiable and dear miss Wilkes, our joint thanks for your kind and truly esteemed letter; though its contents caused our hearts to feel afresh all those sorrows which we felt at the first moment that gave us the melancholy tidings of our much-valued and

excellent friend's departure. His loss will ever be regretted by those who have had the happiness of his friendship and his delightful society. You will believe me, my dear miss Wilkes, when I tell you, that our hearts shared deeply in the affliction which you have suffered, and alas! which you will ever feel, for the loss of such a father. God, who is the protector of those who labour under affliction, will, I hope, support you; and give you strength of mind to bear with resignation and fortitude that which was inevitable, and which cannot be retrieved.

I hope my dear friend will think, when her spirits are more composed, on the owners of this place. A visit to friends who live so retired as we do, would not injure those feelings which we know must be the inhabitants of such a breast as yours.

My dear Mr. Hastings goes to town on Monday. He will make his personal inquiries after you. Should you indulge him to pay his respects to you, it will gratify not only him but

me.—Our thanks are due to you for the little paper which you enclosed to us. Every thing that does justice to our departed friend, and to so great a public character, becomes valuable.

I know it will afford you satisfaction to hear that my mind has been freed from a state of great anxiety, which it has laboured under during the last three weeks. I received letters yesterday from my beloved children at Lisbon. They had escaped very great perils; but they are, I thank God, well and safe.—They mentioned dear lady Shuldham. She was well, and very kind to them.

My dear Mr. Hastings charges me to say all that is kind and affectionate to you: in which I beg to unite; and request you will believe me,

my dearest miss Wilkes,

your sincere and faithful

MARIAN HASTINGS.

Miss Wilkes resided in the house in which her father expired, in Grosvenor-square, till the 12th of March, 1802; when she died suddenly. She had invited a large party to a rout in the evening: but finding herself unwell, she went to bed about one o'clock in the morning; and about five minutes afterwards rung the bell for her servant, who sent for medical assistance. Miss Wilkes, however, expired before Mr. Jones of Mount-street (the gentleman called in) had been present many minutes. Her complaint was a cramp in the stomach; a disease often almost instantaneously fatal:—it hardly ever gives any previous notice of its attack: the pain is violent, and a sense of coldness is generally felt; but no marks of morbid affection have been found in those who have been opened after death.

She was a lady of the sweetest disposition of temper, and humanity and goodness of heart; possessing the most elegant accomplishments, and the highest and most amiable refinements of politeness. The suavity of her manners, captiva-

ting address, and dignity and ease in conversation, gained her the warmest and truest esteem of all who had the happiness of her acquaintance. Her letters, which make no small part of this work, need no encomium. Every reader will do justice to their merit. The following note from Dr. Hunter is a testimony of her talents in science:

" 28th Oct. 1788.

" DR. HUNTER presents his respects to miss Wilkes, and esteems himself happy in being honoured with her commands respecting the specimens of the English Lavater. Those he has the pleasure of now sending her are among the best impressions of the plate which remain, though the letter-press does not look quite so well on French paper.

" The proprietors consider themselves as greatly indebted to miss Wilkes for her patronage of the work, and are much flattered by her and Mr. Wilkes's approbation of the execution. They too sensibly feel the obligation she is laying them under in exhibiting the specimen

to her friends at Paris, to think of accepting the payment of such a trifle.

" Dr. H. receives with unfeigned thankfulness miss Wilkes's candid, judicious, and very friendly criticisms. Measures are already taken to prevent a repetition of some of the little awkwardnesses and inaccuracies of which she so justly and so patriotically complains.—It is to be regretted that *Calas* and his *daughter* had not fallen into the hands of a better artist. Were Dr. H. the sole director of the undertaking, that subject should most undoubtedly be re-engraved."

COPY OF MISS WILKES'S WILL.

In the name of God, Amen. I, Mary Wilkes, spinster, of Grosvenor-square, London, do hereby revoke all my former wills, and declare the present to be my last will and testament; most gratefully acknowledging the goodness of Providence and the affection of those honoured relatives from whence I have derived what I enjoy, and am enabled to make the disposal of my property. I nominate and appoint Joseph Paice esquire, of the Paragon, Southwark; Mr. John Wainewright, solicitor, of Field-court, Gray's Inn; and Mr. James Boudon, of the chamberlain's office, Guildhall, London; jointly, or the survivors or survivor of them, executors and executor of this my last will and testament: and I give and bequeath unto the said Joseph Paice esquire, Mr. John Wainewright, and Mr. James Boudon, or the survivors or survivor of them, all my real and personal estates and effects whatever of which I may die possessed, in trust for the

following purposes; to pay all my just debts and funeral expences, and then the legacies herein and in the manner hereafter mentioned.

My house in Grosvenor-square to be sold, with all the furniture except what I specify as bequests: and the produce of such sale to be first employed in paying the mortgage of miss Sybilla Jane Price on the premises, of fifteen hundred pounds, with what interest may prove due thereon, and the remainder to be appropriated to the general purposes of this my will. I give and bequeath to the before-mentioned Joseph Paice esquire, the worthy friend of my family and myself, to him, his heirs and assigns for ever, my house in Gracechurch-street, London, with all the premises thereunto belonging; desiring him to pay and to secure out of the rent or value thereof, by sale, to James Davidson, formerly servant to my late honoured mother, for the term of his natural life twenty pounds a-year. I give and bequeath to the before-mentioned Mr. John Wainewright and Mr. James Boudon one hundred pounds each. I give and bequeath also unto Samuel Shore esquire, of

Norton-hall, in the county of Derby; and William Hood esquire, of Chancery-lane, London; fifty pounds each: in testimony of my sense of the strict integrity and constant attention with which those gentlemen, with the before-mentioned Joseph Paice esquire, have acted under the different trusts which they have held for my benefit. I give and bequeath to my cousin Charles Wilkes, of New York, in America, son of my uncle Israel Wilkes esquire, all the lands and houses which became mine under the marriage-settlement of my honoured parents, in Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire; to him, his heirs and assigns for ever: and I desire my said cousin to secure out of their produce one hundred pounds a-year to my uncle, his father, during the life of my said uncle; and eighty pounds a-year to his mother, the wife of the said Israel Wilkes esquire, in case of her surviving her said husband, during her life. And I desire him also to pay to his sister Mrs. Simond fifty pounds, and to his brother Mr. John De Pouthieu Wilkes thirty pounds,

I give and bequeath unto my dear cousin lady Baker, wife of sir Robert Baker baronet, of Richmond, Surry, two thousand pounds of my consolidated three per cents stock; reversible under the same trusts to her eldest daughter, my cousin miss Mary Hayley Baker: but if the latter should die in the life-time of her mother, then I give and bequeath the said sum of two thousand pounds to be divided (after the decease of the before-mentioned lady Baker) between the other daughters of the said lady Baker, my cousins miss Louisa and miss Emma Baker, or to the survivor of them; but in case they should not survive their mother, then I give and bequeath the aforesaid sum of two thousand pounds, share and share alike, unto the sons of the before-named lady Baker, my cousins Robert, Henry, George, and Onslow Baker, as all or several of them may be living; or, if only one should survive, then unto him solely. I give and bequeath unto my cousin miss Mary Hayley Baker, one thousand and five hundred pounds of my before-mentioned stock: but in

case of her dying unmarried, or of her marrying without the consent of her parents (or, if they should not be living at the time of her marriage, without the approbation of the before-named trustees), then I give and bequeath the said sum to the remainder hereafter specified in this will. I give and bequeath unto the before-named Joseph Paice esquire, Mr. John Wainewright, and Mr. James Boudon, as trustees in general of all my property, the sum of three thousand four hundred pounds of my aforesaid three per cents consolidated stock; to pay the dividends thereon to miss Harriet Wilkes, of Kensington-Gore, Middlesex: and in case of her marrying with the consent of the before-named trustees, the said sum to be transferred to her absolutely: but if she dies unmarried, then it is my will that she should only have at her disposal by bequest two thousand pounds of the aforesaid three thousand four hundred pounds, and that the remaining sum of one thousand four hundred pounds shall go as I shall hereafter direct. And I give and bequeath under the

before-named trust the sum of one thousand five hundred and fifty pounds in the stock aforesaid, to my cousin, the widow of Mr. John Barrett; and out of the dividends therefrom I desire her to pay her father, my uncle Heaton Wilkes esquire, twenty-five pounds a-year during his life: and my will is, that should she die before her father, then the aforesaid trustees are to pay the dividends arising from the last-mentioned one thousand four hundred and fifty pounds stock to my before-named uncle, Heaton Wilkes esquire; but after their decease I give and bequeath the aforesaid sum of one thousand five hundred and fifty pounds to the remainder of my will as hereafter specified. I give and bequeath under the trust before-mentioned the sum of two thousand and five hundred pounds of my South Sea stock unto Mrs. Amelia Arnold, of Kensington-Gore, Middlesex, for her life only: and it is my will that after her decease one thousand pounds of the said two thousand five hundred pounds South Sea stock should go to miss Harriet Wilkes aforesaid, absolutely; and

the remaining fifteen hundred pounds be divided, share and share alike, between the children of my cousin lady Baker before named, except to her eldest daughter before mentioned. I give and bequeath to my cousin sir Robert Baker, baronet, of Richmond, Surry, one thousand pounds of my aforesaid South Sea stock for his life: and after his decease to his wife my cousin aforesaid, and to their children equally after her; or, should she not survive her said husband, then to the aforesaid children, share and share alike. I give and bequeath, under the trust before mentioned, two thousand pounds of my stock in the new Bank five per cents, for the benefit of *la duchesse de Chastillon* of Paris, to be made absolutely hers in the way the before-named trustees and executors under this my will may think best. I give and bequeath under the same trust fifteen hundred pounds in the last-named stock to Mrs. Buller, widow, of Upper Brook-street, Grosvenor-square, London, for her life; and I give and bequeath unto Mrs. Motte, late of Weymouth-street, London, under the same trusts, fifteen hundred pounds stock, in the

before-mentioned new Bank five per cents, for her life; which sum of fifteen hundred pounds stock, and the similar bequest to Mrs. Buller, I leave, after the decease of both legatees, to the general remainder of my will. I give and bequeath to the reverend Henry Taylor (son of the late Henry Taylor, of Crawley, Hampshire) my farm and lands at Royston in Lincolnshire; to him, his heirs and assigns for ever: and I also give and bequeath unto the said reverend Henry Taylor my farm and manor of Eythorne-court, in the county of Kent. I give and bequeath unto *madame la duchesse de Crussol* and unto *madame la duchesse de la Tremoille* fifty pounds each; desiring that their mother *madame la duchesse de Chastillon* before mentioned and they would receive the tribute I offer them, not only from my personal regard for them, but as a proof of the respect and grateful affection I have retained for *madame la duchesse de la Valliere*. I desire my executors to give to that family the various portraits I have of them.

My will is that my house in Red-lion-court,

near St. Sepulchre's church, London, and all my other property in the city of London, should be sold; and the produce applied to the general purposes of my will. I give and bequeath to Mrs. Gordon, wife of colonel Gordon, late of Prince's-court, Westminster, the sum of twenty pounds. I give and bequeath my row of large pearls to the right honourable lady Shuldham, in affectionate testimony of my value for her friendship to my dear father and myself. I desire my executors to offer Mr. Henry Thomas Williams, of Copthall-court, Throgmorton-street, sixty pounds, as a token of my thankfulness and satisfaction. I give and bequeath unto my before-mentioned cousin, lady Baker, the silver cup that was the honourable gift of the city of London to my dear and honoured father; and also my plate of all descriptions. I give and bequeath to her eldest daughter before mentioned, all my diamonds, ornaments, and trinkets, not otherwise bequeathed.

I desire my respected and dear friends, Mr. and Mrs. Hastings, to accept of the

prints and bronzes in my eating-parlour; and I give to my aforesaid cousin, lady Baker, the picture, painted by Zoffany, of my dear father and myself, and the portrait of me done in crayons by Hoare. All my books not mentioned in the catalogue of my honoured father's library (except the Gems of Worlidge) I give miss Mary Hayley Baker, with my drawings; and the Gems just mentioned I give to miss Harriet Wilkes, as also the gold watch which belonged to my father. My china, both useful and ornamental, I give to my cousin, lady Baker; and my five-guinea piece of king William and queen Mary, to my worthy friend Mrs. Trapaud: my two other five-guinea pieces I desire may be accepted by the miss Meads, of Portman-street. I most particularly desire that my executors would deliver all my honoured father's library, according to the catalogue, to Mr. Peter Elmsley, of Sloane-street, with the remaining copies of his Catullus and Theophrastus, to be sold (at my request) under his direction; and after taking for himself the fifty pounds I desire

him to accept, my will is, that the remainder of the produce should be appropriated for the benefit of the widows and children of decayed freemen of the city of London, at the discretion of the two senior aldermen and the chamberlain of the city of London for the time being. I desire, also, that all manuscripts belonging to me, of whatever kind, may be faithfully delivered to the said Mr. Peter Elmsley, to whose judgment and delicacy I confide them. All the remainders of my different bequests I give and bequeath to the archbishop of Canterbury, and to the archbishop of York, for the time being, in trust for charitable purposes; and any thing not specified I commit to the discretion of my executors.

I give and bequeath to my waiting-woman at the time of my decease, all my wearing apparel; and five guineas each to those of my servants who may have been in my service more than one year, leaving ten guineas each to those who may have lived in my service above five years. I give ten pounds to the poor of St. George's parish, Hanover-square; and ten

pounds to the poor of St. Sepulchre's parish, in the city. I request to be interred in the same vault as my honoured and dear father, in Grosvenor-chapel. I desire my executors to make some donation out of my property to the poor of the different places where I have estates, besides those already mentioned. I desire Mr. Paice to accept the pictures not otherwise mentioned.

Signed, sealed, published, and declared, by the said Mary Wilkes, to be her last will and testament; written with her own hand on these six sides of paper, severally signed by her in the presence of us who in her presence and in presence of each other do here witness the same, this 18th day of July, 1800.

MARY WILKES. [L. S.]

Sealed and delivered by miss Mary Wilkes as her last will, in the presence of us,

GEO. RIDGE,
JAMES COCKS, JUNR.
T. SOMMERS COCKS.

OF MR. WILKES'S SON, MR. JOHN SMITH.

He has been mentioned in Mr. Wilkes's letters to Mr. Cotes, and in several of miss Wilkes's letters.

His mother's name was Catherine Smith. She was housekeeper to Mr. Wilkes; but being a very low illiterate woman, the boy was removed from her as soon as possible, that he might not attain any of her vulgar idiom or coarse phraseology. He was placed first at Hounslow; in some degree under the attention of Mr. Frogley, of the Bucks militia: and was then put to school at Hammersmith; from whence, at a proper time, he was sent to Harrow. After being some years at Harrow, he was removed to Hamburgh. The three following letters contain some further account of him.

Mr. Wilkes acknowledged him as his nephew, and he was accustomed to call Mr. Wilkes his uncle.

" Clement's-lane, Friday, 4th Oct. 1776.

" MR. KENNEDY presents respectful compliments to Mr. Wilkes: he had the honour to receive his note of Monday last; and in compliance with his orders that the bill drawn on Messrs. Johnston and Canning from Hamburgh (*54l. 6s. 11d.*) for Mr. Wilkes's account should be accepted, the same has met due honour. Mr. Wilkes will please to observe, that as Messrs. Mathiessen and Co's. letter of advice to Messrs. J. and C., containing their account of this draft and the moneys laid out for Mr. Smith at Hamburgh, has been sent to Mr. Canning at Dublin,—Kennedy cannot, at present, furnish Mr. Wilkes with this account, but shall have it sent to him soon as Mr. C. returns the letter."

" *To John Wilkes, Esq.*

" SIR, " Hamburgh, Dec. 10, 1776.

" HAVING read to your nephew your letter which you honoured me with, I grow sensible

of the good consequences of it. It will, to be sure, shake out of his head those false pretensions to independency, which more than one of my English new-comers had filled his mind with, howsoever inconsistent with those aims which occasioned their being sent over to me. The sudden increase of the academy last year had like to make these new-comers gain a superiority over the good examples of those who, by having lived longer under our direction, were more used to our gentle manner of ruling them: so that there were, perhaps, some of them led into false conceptions not of their own; which I am willing to suppose was your nephew's case. He lives under a more narrow inspection than the rest; in a pretty room, without any companion but that one of the governors (whose study is next to his room) has got his bed placed in it. You'll know already that I have charged our French language-master, who is a learned man, with the care of some lessons weekly in that part of mathematics which interests him in particular; as his want of understanding the Ger-

man hndered his improving by my more public lessons, and I had no time to spare for affording him private ones. In these he has improved pretty well: and as he, as well as his master, was desirous of giving you a proof of it by sending over his book of figures, I had bespoke the transmitting it by a ship; but which, I am afraid, won't sail now before winter, as the frost is just setting in.

"I am,

with a perfect esteem and regard,

Sir,

your most obedient

humble servant,

T. G. Busch."

"Be pleased, sir, to give my best compliments to Mr. Canning."

THE following extract of a letter, written by Arthur Lee, Esq. at Chaillot near Paris, was received by Mr. Wilkes (from the hands of monsieur Montandoine) at London, September 8th, 1777.

"DEAR SIR,

"GIVE me leave to ask you how you do; and to make you acquainted with monsieur Montandoine of Nantes, one of the first merchants in France, *et de beaucoup d'esprit.* Madame Montandoine will be also happy in the acquaintance of miss Wilkes, to whom I beg my very best compliments.

"I had the pleasure of drinking your health with young Smith, at Berlin: he is well educated, and well behaved.—You have heard that the Scotch envoy had the impudence to hire people to rob me; and if he had not been frightened into an immediate return of all my papers, he might have done some mischief."

In the autumn of the year 1777 he was sent to Paris to finish his education, under the tuition of monsieur Lauchoix in that capital.

In the year 1782 Mr. Wilkes obtained for him the place of a cadet in the East India company's service, and sent him to Bengal.

Mr. Wilkes's attention to the boy's education amply qualified him for the station which he was to fill; but the state of politics at home proved an insuperable bar to his flattering expectations in India. If Mr. Hastings had staid in Bengal a little longer, Mr. Smith would undoubtedly have experienced the happy effects of his patronage.

While in Bengal he sent the following six letters to his father.

LETTER I.

"DEAR UNCLE, Caunpore, Nov. 18, 1785.

"I CANNOT guess the reason of my not receiving even a line from you, or miss Wilkes, since my arrival in this country. I suppose it must be owing to the number of Smiths on the Bengal establishment: and my letters must have been forwarded to them; who, opening them, did not wish to send them to me—therefore I have given myself another Christian name, John Henry Smith, to put a stop to all other mistakes that might happen in future; so beg you will direct the letters as above.

"In every letter I have sent home I mentioned a dispute that happened on my arrival in this country, which has not been settled yet, and cannot be done in this country; it must be done at home by the directors. The dispute is this:

"You know that at Madras I was so unfortunate as to lose every thing I had in the world,

except what I had on my back; among them was my certificate of my being appointed a cadet for the year 1782. When I arrived at Calcutta, I found there was another Ensign John Smith, for that year, and only one mentioned in the general list from the court of directors; therefore, one of us must be put down at the bottom of the list of the army, till it is settled.

"It will be a very easy matter for you, if you would be kind enough, to speak to sir Henry Fletcher, or any of the directors, and get my name put down very high in the list for 1782. It will be of very great consequence in a few years.

" Sir Henry Fletcher might get it done in the following manner:—

" The first letter the directors write to the council at Calcutta, they might mention in it that an Ensign John Smith's name, who came out in the Duke of Athol, in 1782, was forgotten to be inserted; therefore he is to take the rank of such a gentleman for the year 1782 (specifying the name I am to come above): or

even they might get me inserted in the list for the year 1781, which would make a difference of two or three hundred names.

"May I beg the favour of you to send me some letters of recommendation to this country; as there is no post to be had without your being strongly recommended to the commander in chief, or to somebody in council: for if an officer does not get something of the kind, it is impossible to make a fortune, if you are not almost at the head of the army. General Sloper being at present commander in chief, if you could send me out a letter to him, it will be of great consequence to me,—and at the same time one to Mr. Macpherson.

"By the first gentleman that returns home I shall send you some more newspapers, and a trifling present to miss Wilkes. I should have done it before, but am some hundred miles from Calcutta, and it cannot be done otherwise than by sending these things with a friend; and as I am not on the spot, I find that a very difficult thing to do. In a few months I shall move nearer to Calcutta, where I shall

have the pleasure of writing to you oftener than I have done.

"I am,
dear uncle,
with respect,
your dutiful nephew,
J. *H.* SMITH."

LETTER II.

"MY DEAR UNCLE,

"THE greatest pleasure I have had since I have been in this country, is the two letters I received some time ago, one from you and one from miss Wilkes. I hope I shall be so happy once a-year. I am exceedingly sorry you put yourself to so much distress, on account of the money I drew on you for: you may depend on my never doing the like again, let what will happen.

"General Sloper, our commander in chief, has thought proper to make a new regulation in the army before his return to Europe, which will certainly ruin the youngest part of the army. He has made the youngest majors supernumeraries, likewise the youngest captains: he has ordered to do lieutenant's duty on lieutenant's pay; also about eighty lieutenants, who are become supernumeraries, to do ensigns' duty on ensigns' pay; and all the ensigns are become supernumeraries, on 90 rupees a-month instead of 135. So that by this new regulation, I shall be very lucky if I get on the strength of a battalion these four years to come. We are not attached to any corps, nor have we any duty to do. We have permission to go to any part of the country we think proper, that is within the company's provinces, where we think we can live the cheapest; but for all that it is impossible to do it, and keep up the appearance of an officer. You know we are obliged to do it, though we do not do any duty: however, let what will happen, you may be assured I ne-

ver will break my word, and draw upon you again.

"The directors are so good as to allow us to go home for three years, or till we are called for on our half-pay, and to find us a passage, which is certainly a very great indulgence to many; in particular to those who have money, and who wish to see their friends.

"Lord Cornwallis arrived in Calcutta the 13th of September, 1786. He mentioned at his first dinner, that he would put the court of directors' orders into execution, let them be what they will. It is very well known they want us to be on half-pay, which is about twenty-two rupees per month. I understood he intends doing it: should that be the case, we must inevitably starve if we remain in the country; for one could live much better in England on fourpence a-day than here on our half-pay. As I came to India to make a fortune, and should find no likelihood of its being possible, I cannot think of remaining in the country should they put these orders into execution.

"I am exceedingly sorry to inform you of the death of colonel Harris. You gave me a letter of recommendation to him while in England, which he paid the greatest attention to. I have not had the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Harris. The oldest daughter is married to a captain Green, of the artillery."

LETTER III.

"Dinapore, 4th Oct. 1786.

"WITH pleasure I understand that one of the miss Angeloes is married to a lieutenant St. Leger; I believe it is the youngest, Nancy. I wish with all my heart they were all provided for. I think it is a very worthy family, which I beg you will very kindly remember me to.

"Dear uncle! If you wish me to do any thing in this country, for God's sake do send me out some letters of recommendation to different people here, either in council or rank in the army; or else I shall never have a post, but

be obliged to live on my bare pay, upon which it is impossible to save any thing.

" I have one favour to ask; which is,—to request of you, as I lost my watch when the ship blew up, to send me out another, and a double-barrelled gun. Should you not have money sufficient, I beg you will speak to some captain, and desire him to bring them out to me.

" I wrote to you and miss Wilkes by the Severn packet: which was lost in this country, and every soul perished in her except two or three; and, what is remarkable, a boy saved himself by laying hold of a hog's tail, and so swimming to shore.

" We live here in perfect peace; every day more and more Europeans coming. Instead of three brigades we have now six. I wish the Black powers would pick up a quarrel that we might have something to do; and at the same time get a few steps, which is always agreeable to a soldier.

" I understand that several packets were saved out of the Severn. I hope my letters to you and miss Wilkes are of the number.

"I request you will make my compliments to miss Wilkes, and tell her that if any gentleman goes from hence I shall certainly send her some otta of roses.

"I am,
dear uncle,
your ever-dutiful nephew,
J. SMITH."

LETTER IV.

"Dinapore,
"MY DEAR UNCLE, Nov. 12, 1787.

"FROM being some hundred miles from Calcutta when the Ravensworth sailed, I was under the necessity to send my letter to you to a gentleman there, to forward it on board a ship. Unluckily, he happened to be out of town when my letter arrived, so that it lost the opportunity of going with her; but I have provided that the same misfortune shall not happen to this.

"Since I wrote to you last I have enjoyed as good health as I could wish; but I cannot say so much for my situation in the army. The company have thought proper, to save expences, to level the army, by which regulations I am become a supernumerary ensign; but I shall come on the strength again this cold weather: they have likewise reduced our allowances while supernumeraries; but with a little economy I contrive to make it out pretty well, which I find it absolutely necessary for an officer to learn. Since Mr. Macpherson left this country, and lord Cornwallis arrived, from my not being in Calcutta, I have not been recommended to him, nor am I acquainted with any body about him; so that I have not the least chance of any advantage except my pay and batta,—if you do not contrive to get me some letters of recommendation to his lordship, or to colonel Ross (who is the head person about him), and some to the counsellors here; then with the recommendation of my commanding officer, I may probably get something, which in the course of some years may enable

me to go home, and return you personally my sincere thanks for every thing you have done for me.

"With infinite pleasure I heard from a gentleman who left England lately, that you and miss Wilkes were in perfect health. My daily prayers are that you may continue so for years.

"As I was so unfortunate to lose the watch miss Wilkes gave me coming out, may I request the favour of you to send me another, and a double-barrelled gun (as I am very fond of shooting, and it is so wholesome in this country on account of the exercise)? As I have saved some money, I beg you will give to the captain who brings them an order on me for whatever they may cost. Were I to buy them here I should pay from 3 to 400 per cent. more. Pray let the watch, seals, and chain, be gold; and the gun made by Mr. Manton, in Dover-street. Order the barrels to be made 3 feet 4 inches long.

"I beg I may hear from you as often as you can make it convenient to yourself; directing your letters to John *Henry* Smith, Bengal.

"Should you or miss Wilkes want any thing from this part of the world, I beg you will command me. I am sorry to inform you colonel Harris died just after the arrival of Mrs. Harris in this country. When you see Angelo's family, I beg you will remember me to them in the kindest manner.

"My compliments to miss Wilkes: and believe me,

dear uncle,
your ever dutiful
and affectionate nephew,
J. SMITH."

LETTER V.

"Dinapore,
"MY DEAR UNCLE, Nov. 5th, 1788.

"YOUR letter which I received in 1786, afforded me the greatest pleasure I have experienced in this country. Since my arrival here it is

the only one. The certificate which you enclosed in it, settled my rank in the army. You cannot conceive what satisfaction we feel, hearing from our friends at so great a distance. I sincerely hope illness was not the cause of my not having heard from either. I suppose you have received the three letters I wrote and sent home last year: and one which I sent by major W. Watson, with some otta of roses for miss Wilkes and a letter: he promised me that he would deliver them personally. In my last I begged that you would be so kind to send me out a double-barrelled gun; a gold watch, chain, and seals; and to give to any captains or mates of Indiamen an order on me at sight for what these articles may cost. By having them sent out from Europe I shall save above 100 per cent.

"You must have heard long before we did, that half of those regiments were to be officered by the company. Any one that wished to go into them sent in their names; for my part, I have not changed as yet, not having received advice from you. You may depend that

I never will take any step where my future prospects are concerned, without first consulting you. As long as I can remain in the company's service, I will; for it is undoubtedly the best in the world, was not the climate of the country so much against us: however, should you wish me to go into his majesty's service, I certainly will comply.

"Any alteration that you may hear of that is to take place in this country, I beg you will acquaint me with, and give me your advice how to act; and to indulge me with a few lines as often as you can make it convenient to yourself, by next ships or by land.

"Pray don't forget to get me some letters for lord Cornwallis and colonel Ross: without them, no appointment.

"I don't suppose we shall have a war here for some time to come. Don't forget, when you write me, to direct your letters to J. *H.* Smith. When you send out the gun and watch, I beg you will in your letter mention the number and the maker, that they may not be changed. Whenever you see Angelo's family, pray give

my compliments. I hope they are both well off in their old days.

"I shall write to miss Wilkes by the next ship. Assure her that I have the greatest respect for her.

"I am,
my dear uncle,
your very dutiful
and affectionate nephew,
J. SMITH."

LETTER VI.

"MY DEAR SIR, Bengal, Nov. 14, 1792.

"I HOPE this will find you in as good health as when miss Wilkes wrote her last letter to me. In mine to her I mentioned that we were in perfect peace: I do not know how long it may continue; the Chinese have gone against the Napal rajah, and the latter has called upon us for assistance. His lordship has sent an ambassa-

dor to him: God knows how it may turn out. No European has ever been in the rajah's country: it lies on the mountains to the northward of Bengal. Should any troops be sent there, I shall apply to be sent with them: I hope it may take place, as I am very anxious to see his country.

"It is reported that lord Macartney is coming out here as governor-general. Should that be the case, I beg you will send me out letters of recommendation to him or to any one else that is coming, by which means I may get some appointment which may enable me to return home in a few years.

"I assure you there is not a man happier in India than I am. I have always made it a rule to pay a proper respect to my superior officers, and I must say I have always met with politeness and attention in return. Wherever I have been I have always been invited by those in the civil line, who are rather nice in associating with officers.—There are some new regulations coming out for the army, which we are happy to hear: they are said to be

very advantageous for the subaltern line. I hope our allowances will be increased; for I assure you it is impossible on our present pay and batta to save any thing to signify. It would take 30 or 40 years to save 3 or 4000*l.* and then you must shut yourself up, and deprive yourself of every little amusement and comfort which is absolutely necessary in this country. Notwithstanding all this, there is not such service in the world; to you I am indebted for being in it, and for all the comfort I enjoy in it. May you meet with your due reward in this and the other world, is the daily prayer of,

my dear sir,

yours ever, affectionately,

J. SMITH."

THE editor has not seen any thing further from this young gentleman.

OF MISS HARRIET WILKES.

HER mother lived with Mr. Wilkes at Bath; from whence he brought her to London. She was a woman of some education, and not of very humble origin; being the daughter of George and Christian Arnold, of Sutton Veny, in Wiltshire, born on the 29th of May 1753: she died at Kensington Gore, on the 25th of April 1802, and was buried in the church of that parish.

The following is one of this lady's letters to Mr. Wilkes.

"DEAR SIR, Kensington-Gore, Jan. 13, 1789.

"I GOT very safe to Kensington-Gore. I have not yet seen any of the Kensington folks. I hope the servant will bring me the good news that you are quite recovered of the fatigues of your journey, and that you have had two good nights' rest. I beg you to take great care of

yourself for the sake of that little bird*: bring her with you on Thursday, and you shall have a good dinner and a good fire—two good things this cold weather.

"Adieu!"

Letters from miss Harriet Wilkes to Mr. Wilkes.

"DEAR PAPA, Kensington-Gore.—Tuesday.

"I WRITE these few lines to let you know that my dear mamma is a great deal better: and I hope you are better; if not, mamma begs you would take the draught Dr. Thompson prescribed for you.

"As I was looking over some of your letters yesterday, I found what you said about the parroquets: they will be highly pleased to see their old companions, if that can be contrived.

"My mamma joins with me in our tender love to you; and I remain,

dear papa,

your *soumise fille*,

HENRIETTE WILKES."

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* Her daughter, Harriet.

"THE parroquets present their respects to their master in Grosvenor-square, and hope his cold is better. They are much obliged to him for the favour he conferred on them, by permitting them to see their old companions. Their new mistress's cold is a good deal better: and as for their young mistress, she is as pert as ever. The books that came with them, Harriet desires to present her thanks for; as well as mamma for the lozenges.

"We remain,

dear master,

your obliged servants."

"Kensington-Gore,

"EVER-DEAR PAPA, Aug. 21, 1793.

"WE received yours of the 14th, for which we return you many thanks. We were quite alarmed about you, as we did not receive it until Monday.

"Mr. Bowden called here the 15th, and desired his compliments to you.

"Mr. Soilleux has sent us a basket of fruit, and me an Italian grammar.

"Mamma joins with me in our tender love to you; and I remain,

dear papa,
your dutiful daughter,
HARRIET WILKES."

"YOUR *young old friend** is much obliged to you for your kind mention of her dancing; and she sincerely assures you, no approbation on any occasion can give her greater pleasure than that of her dear and indulgent papa."

THIS young lady was born on the 20th of October, 1778. Her father shewed the most assiduous and tender regard to her education: and she proved herself highly de-

* Miss Harriet, herself.

serving of his concern; possessing excellent and sprightly talents, and very elegant accomplishments. She was married on the 26th of June 1802, to William Rough, esq. barrister at law.

SUBSTANCE OF THE WILL
OF
ISRAEL WILKES, ESQ.
FATHER OF MR. JOHN WILKES,
[*Dated the 18th of August*, 1752.]

HE mentions that his son Israel Wilkes was entitled under his (the testator's) marriage-settlement to an estate in lands, &c.; which, with five thousand pounds given him by the said will, was to be in lieu of all claim his said son might have on his paternal estates.

He also mentions that his son John had an estate of three hundred and thirty pounds in lands; and this, with the presents which had been made to him, was to be in satisfaction of his claim.

To his daughter Mary, wife of Samuel Storke, of London, merchant, he gives five thousand pounds.

All the rest of his estate he gives to his wife Sarah Wilkes, in confidence that she will make suitable provision for his eldest daughter Sarah, and his son Heaton Wilkes.

SUBSTANCE OF THE WILL

OF

WILLIAM MEAD, ESQ. OF AYLESBURY, BUCKS;

FATHER OF MRS. WILKES.

THIS will is without a date; but was proved, on the second of January 1723, by Henry Hankey, of Fenchurch-street, goldsmith and deputy; and Samuel Troughton, of Fenchurch-street, attorney. The will mentions neither wife nor children: so that the testator's property seems to have been settled by prior deeds. To his brothers and sisters he gives some legacies; and five hundred pounds to each of his executors.

TWO LETTERS FROM

ISRAEL WILKES, ESQ.

TO HIS BROTHER

JOHN WILKES.

LETTER I.

MY DEAR BROTHER, New-York, Nov. 6, 1783.

WHEN I waited on governor Orde, he told me that he was necessarily engaged to a few people for the first things that might fall in his gift; but he assured me, in very obliging terms, that he would do me what services he could as soon as they were over: so that I cannot ask him for any particular place or office at present, were there any vacant; but a general recommendation from my lord Rodney to his favour will, I know, have a good effect,—and for this I shall be much obliged to you. Changes are pretty frequently happening in the West Indies, from deaths and other causes;

which gives me a tolerable chance of procuring something to my satisfaction from him, I hope, before much time passes.

I beg my love to my niece; and to assure you,

my dear brother,

I am most affectionately

yours,

ISRAEL WILKES.

LETTER II.

MY DEAR BROTHER, New-York, Oct. 8, 1790.

I RECEIVED the favour of yours, of July 3d; and return you many thanks for the pains you took with my lord Walsingham, to have obtained me the agency of the British packets at this place. The gentleman who has got it was patronized by the family of the Thorntons; who I understand are all with the ministry, have very large property, are worthy people, and so seldom ask favours that their intercession was not to be refused by Mr. Pitt.

After great struggles we have lost the resi-

dence of congress here, who are removed to Philadelphia. The New-Yorkers complain much that they should make so short a stay here, after so much money had been expended to make every thing convenient and pleasant to them. For my own part I am very little concerned about it.

I beg you would give my kindest love to my niece, and many thanks for the favour I have received from her; and believe me, ever,

my dear brother,

most affectionately

yours,

ISRAEL WILKES.

P. S. All my family desire their duty, love, and compliments, to yourself and miss Wilkes.

THREE LETTERS FROM HEATON WILKES, ESQ. TO HIS BROTHER JOHN WILKES.

[In the controversial letters between Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Horne, the subject of the first of these letters is alluded to by Mr. Horne, who says that the following conversation passed between himself and Mr. John Wilkes *.

"*Wilkes.* I think I ought to consider something about providing for my friends, and being prepared with candidates for the city offices. Give me your opinion: Who do you think should be town-clerk?"

"*Horne.* Why, is sir James Hodges dead?"

"*Wilkes.* No: but he is not very young, nor in very good health; and one ought to be prepared against accidents. There should always be a candidate fixed upon, ready."

Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Horne differed upon this point.]

* Mr. Horne's Sixth Letter to Mr. Wilkes.

LETTER I.

" St. John's-square,
" DEAR BROTHER, 9th March, 1774.

" I HAVE been for months past very unhappy: it being quite out of my power to go on with the distillery; and I wish to be prevented, if you approved it, and would give me your assistance, from ever again engaging in so precarious a trade.

" Some of our friends told me this morning sir James Hodges was dangerously ill, and advised me to be a candidate:—my reply was, 'If my brother approve, I will certainly offer my services, and shall not doubt of success.'

" I have not asked one single person, the first respect from me being due to you; if you approve, I shall apply to the lord-mayor and sheriffs, &c. &c. I hope, if the common-council know my present situation, their generosity would relieve me from my difficulties.

" I am,
ever affectionately, yours,
" H. WILKES.

" If this finds you at home, I shall be much obliged to you for a few lines."

[When Mr. Wilkes went to reside in Grosvenor-square, the house in Prince's-court was occupied by Mr. Heaton Wilkes; which accounts for the two following letters being dated from thence:]

LETTER II.

"Prince's-court,

"MY DEAR BROTHER, July 30, 1793.

"I HOPE you have enjoyed perfect health, and a great deal of pleasure, in the Isle of Wight. We saw miss Wilkes two days past, and she was very well. Many favours have you conferred on me; and I hope I always, when in my power, have made a grateful return.

"The repair of Prince's-court has been much more considerable than Mr. Wigg or myself apprehended. Necessary repairs only have

been done. Mr. Wigg has now claimed his bill. It is two years' credit next September. It amounts to 20*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* If Mr. Wigg will allow me one half, may I ask you to allow me the other half? Should this not meet with your approbation, may I request the favour of you for three months to lend me one hundred pounds? It shall be punctually returned you at the time; and any security I shall be willing to give you,—your friend Meredith Price may advise.

"The favour of a few lines by the post will much oblige me.

"I am,

very sincerely

and most affectionately yours,

"HEATON WILKES."

LETTER III.

"Prince's-court,
"MY DEAR BROTHER, January 13, 1797.

"I NEVER was more distressed with pecuniary difficulties than I am at present: if your kindness and generosity will relieve me (as it is, thank Heaven! in your power), the most grateful return you shall ever experience.

"Mr. James Lee called at my house on Wednesday: he said he was to breakfast with you on Thursday morning; and as he was to go in the mail-coach to his house at six o'clock that evening, he desired I would meet him at the Saracen's Head at three o'clock that day. When I saw him, he told me he had that day paid you two hundred and fifty pounds, and he had paid you all the money he brought up to town: and he did not, nor could not, pay me one shilling.

"I leave it to your generosity, with what sum in bills or cash you can assist me. The time

shall be fixed by yourself; and if I am alive I will be punctual: and I am sure the Supreme Being must reward you for so very kind, friendly, and affectionate an act, conferred on your ever-obliged brother,

HEATON WILKES.

"I will send my servant to your house to-morrow for an answer."

THE

SUBSTANCE OF THE SPEECH

OF

MR. ALDERMAN WILKES,

TO THE

INHABITANTS OF THE WARD OF FARRINGDON WITHOUT,

AT ST. SEPULCHRE'S CHURCH,

14TH DEC. 1792.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I AM happy at all times to comply with the wishes of this ward; but particularly so at a period when we are called forth to express our loyalty to the crown, and our attachment to the constitution of our country.

"I will not trouble you with many words: but I beg leave to express my private sentiments on this important occasion. I

am a firm friend to a limited monarchy, as a government founded on laws: a government which does not depend on the will or caprice of an individual, but rests on known and written laws. Such a government best answers the great end designed by it,—to give security and safety to persons and to property. This is the government under which we live.

"I am particularly attached to the house of Brunswick. The last eighty years have been the happiest and most prosperous in our annals: during that period the Brunswick family has been on the throne. We are governed by wise and equal laws; the same laws for the poor as for the rich, for every subject of the state. Our persons are safe, our property secure, and our commerce most extensively flourishing; especially during the reign of his present majesty. I trust the good sense of the English nation, not to barter these important and splendid advantages in possession, for any wild and extravagant speculations—as ridi-

culous in theory as totally impossible in practice.

" Gentlemen, I am firmly attached to a limited monarchy. I have spent no small part of my life abroad: in countries where the government depended on the will or the caprice of an individual, of a minister, a minion, or a mistress; where no one was secure.

" One of the great advantages of our constitution is, that all is clearly defined, and the limits of each branch ascertained. Now in a republican government there is a continued struggle who shall be the greatest. The Roman was the most famous republic; and witnessed the contentions of Marius and Sylla, of Cesar and Pompey, for pre-eminence. But here the line is clearly chalked out by law; no subject can with us be so ambitious, or so mad, as to contend for the sovereign power. We are preserved from all those evils which necessarily attend a republican government.

" On these principles it is that I profess

my regard for limited monarchy: a monarchy which is not above law, but is founded upon law, and secures freedom to the subject.

" Gentlemen, I shall not longer trespass on your patience. I thought it proper to offer you the sentiments of an individual, who is always ready to come forth in your service; but the weight and the importance of your resolutions must depend on the respectable meeting now assembled."

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

[THE Introduction to Mr. Wilkes's proposed History of England having during several years become extremely scarce, miss Wilkes had an intention, a short time before she died, of printing a few copies to present to her father's friends, who wished to possess a composition which they highly esteemed: but her death having prevented the execution of that design, several of Mr. Wilkes's friends, who have not been able to obtain a copy, have requested the editor to introduce the following article into the present work.]

" THE INTRODUCTION.

" THE Revolution is the great æra of English liberty. From this most auspicious period, freedom has made a regular uninterrupted abode in our happy island. The rights of the crown and the people were then expressly ascertained, and acknowledged by the three branches of the legislature.

" The disputes of prerogative, of privilege, and of liberty, subsided. The public attention was called to different objects: to the variety of changes made in the interior part of government, and to the remarkable events on the continent; for after the new settlement at home, the nation began again to look abroad, and to resume its natural weight among the powers of Europe.

" The changes in the form of the administration at home were important and immediate. The supplies for the army, navy, and the contin-

gent expences of government, were now given only from year to year, and were appropriated to each particular service; whereas before they had been granted, without any distinct appropriation, at the beginning of each reign, for the life of the sovereign. The public expence was separated from the private expence of the prince: from thence arose a necessity of convening the parliament annually; and the sovereign has ever since the Revolution been obliged to have recourse to the great council of the nation, not only on all real emergences, but even to continue the administration. Princes have been no longer able to govern without parliaments, and ministers have experienced that a few months necessarily give an injured people the power to call them to account.

"The house of Stuart had enjoyed so great revenues, that with a little economy they would have been sufficient to continue the government without any application to parliament. Charles I., notwithstanding his great expences, had been able to reign twelve years

together without once suffering the great council of the nation to be assembled. The exactions on the subject by loans, monopolies, and other illegal methods, brought in no very considerable sums to his treasury, though the people were cruelly oppressed by his officers. The customs and other branches of the revenue enjoyed by James II., are computed at two millions five hundred and fifty thousand pounds a-year, including the one hundred and fifty thousand pounds granted him while duke of York. At the Revolution nothing was settled on king William for life. It was not till the year 1698, that seven hundred thousand pounds a-year were settled during that term expressly for the support of his majesty's household: this included fifty thousand pounds a-year for king James's queen, and the establishment of the duke of Gloucester was likewise made from the same grant. Every single article relative to the fleet, the army, and the contingent expences of administration, was voted by the house of commons from year to year. The accounts were regularly submitted

to their inspection. Particular sums were appropriated for each service. By this method, the money granted for any distinct article could not be diverted to other uses by the crown, which had been one of the grievances under Charles II.

"At the period of the Revolution, the spirit of liberty was very high in the nation. It had been rising from the reign of James I. During the whole life of queen Elizabeth, a series of most interesting events had engaged the attention of the public. Frequent struggles even for the independency of England, numerous as well as envenomed and bloody disputes about theological tenets, had arisen: so that men were not at leisure to go nicely into the questions of civil government, and the rights of prince and people; nor did the conduct of the sovereign give any alarm to the nation, of danger of their laws and liberties. Rapin observes, 'that the English were in the reign of queen Elizabeth the happiest people under the sun.' He adds the reason: it is not from the glory the English name then had through the world; it is from a

more solid and important cause,—because 'they saw no designs upon their liberties, nor any infringement of their privileges encouraged.' Such just ideas of the true political happiness of a great nation, had that sensible Frenchman acquired in this country! He says in another place, 'What she (queen Elizabeth) ought to be esteemed for above all things is, that she caused the English to enjoy a felicity unknown to their ancestors, under most of the kings her predecessors. This, doubtless, is the test by which we are to judge of those whom God has set over us.'—*Tindal's Continuation.*

"The peaceful reign of the first Stuart, his example and repeated harangues both in public and private, set the nation on inquiries into the nature, rise, and extent, of all governments. These subjects had then the graces of novelty in our country. Time ripened at length such excellent fruit, which from the first promised fair in this happy soil. The most valuable books we have on the subject, are posterior by near half a century to the beginning of James

the First's reign. Locke and Sydney are still later.

"The sentiments of the court and of the nation on these great questions were diametrically opposite. The body of the clergy espoused the most extravagant prerogative doctrines of the king. The court creed was, that the liberties of the people, and the privileges of parliament, were only grants and concessions from former princes: that the king was the sole fountain of power; that he was superior to law; that he was not bound by his coronation oath, except only to God; that resistance was at all times and in all cases absolutely unlawful; and that under the extreme of tyranny the only resource left to the subject was prayers and tears.—The pulpits resounded with this doctrine. It dropped like manna from the venal tongues of the court-chaplains; but instead of wholesome food, became the rankest and most baneful poison to their deluded master. All the sermons and treatises published by royal licence, inculcated the same principles. Little

opposition was made at the beginning from the press, which then was under great restraints. The nation, however, in general, began to entertain more liberal ideas of government. The tedious scholastic speeches of the pedant king James I., made no impression, neither on the parliament nor on the people. The commons declared in the most express terms, that the liberties of the nation and the privileges of parliament were the undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of England. James I., who crossed the Tweed with all the Scottish ideas of vassalage, and was still to learn the generous principles of our Magna Charta, with his own hand tore this protestation out of the journals. The violence and indecency of such a proceeding only served to irritate the nation as well as their representatives. He continued all the rest of his life on terms of ill-humour with his parliament and people.

"He was likewise served by the lawyers in his most extravagant claims of prerogative. They gave their opinions, almost unanimously, that the king was superior to the law, and that all

resistance was criminal. The body of the nation, however, condemned the prostitute time-serving maxims both of the clergy and the lawyers of that age. They considered England as a limited monarchy. They thought the sovereign was bound by those limitations, and might be lawfully resisted when he exceeded them; for that there must be a right of securing and maintaining what is justly ours. It began then to be generally remarked among us, that the first idea not only of political institutions, but even of society, was the happiness of the various individuals collected together; and that no further power could be meant to be given to the head, but what was for the good of the whole body politic.

"These were generally the sentiments of the nation at the end of the reign of James I. His son and successor endeavoured to reduce into practice those speculative maxims of royal prerogative in its utmost extent, which his father had been so many years preaching from the throne. He wanted neither genius nor courage; but he had imbibed from his in-

fancy maxims totally repugnant to the nature and the rights of the people he was to govern. To a fatal perseverance in them he fell a sacrifice. Very early in his reign he ventured on the two most odious acts of oppression against which we were thought to be the best guarded by the Great Charter: I mean, the arbitrary imprisonment of the subject, and the levying money on various pretences without act of parliament. The lawyers served him in both. So little sense of justice, or regard to law, remained among them, that at length, after a solemn hearing of the cause, the judges declared ship-money legal. Soon after arose that patriot senate,—men of the most consummate virtue, the most just and enlarged ideas,—who recovered our laws and liberties almost from annihilation, declared all the judgments in the case of ship-money void, abolished the courts of high commission and star-chamber, destroyed monopolies, and passed the bill for triennial parliaments. The constitution might then have been settled upon a solid basis, but the violence and indiscretion of the

king's partisans ruined this fair project. Lord Clarendon, who writes professedly from the memoirs he received from Charles I., says, 'an opinion that the violence and force used in procuring these acts rendered them absolutely void, influenced the king to confirm them.'

"This opinion was indiscreetly propagated by many of the royal party. The parliament availed themselves very ably of such palpable misconduct, and the king's enemies openly declared that no reliance could be had on a prince who imagined that a solemn assent given in full parliament was void; that pretences of that, or a similar nature, could never be wanting; and that it was not easy to conceive what engagement could be valid, if that was not,—the most deliberate, the most authentic act of royalty, which is known to our constitution. This reasoning made a deep impression on many even of the most moderate; and the indiscretion of the courtiers, in making public these sentiments of the king, operated fatally in laying the foundation for constant

suspicions of his good-faith and sincerity in every transaction. But the immediate cause of the civil war was, the violence of the most ill-judged measure he ever adopted—the coming in person to the house of commons to seize five of their members. From that moment every thing wore a military appearance. The city took the alarm. The parliament would no longer remain at Westminster; but, to mark their confidence in the citizens, who from the beginning had been strenuous in the cause of liberty, they adjourned to the Guildhall of London. The five members attended there, protected by a numerous body of their armed friends and the citizens. The fire had long been laid, and there only wanted such a spark to force a blaze. From that time men were more employed in defending their rights by the sword, than in justifying them by the pen. The writings published at that period, have generally reference to the party disputes of the king and parliament; and seldom go upon great principles. The state-papers we have of the king, are, in style and composition, infinitely su-

perior to those of the parliament. Charles I. was himself an elegant writer of prose,—though the most wretched of all poets, even of the royal line; an accomplished private gentleman,—possessing a fine taste in the polite arts, and all the virtues of a good christian, but no one quality of a great prince. Scarcely any writing of importance appeared, on great and general principles, till Cromwell's power swallowed up every thing, and gave a temporary calm to the nation. Milton then published his Defence of the People of England, and other valuable tracts. It was not, however, till the period between the Restoration and the Revolution, that men began to scrutinize accurately the rights of the church and the monarchy, to examine the freedom of civil government, and to sound the depths of political society.

"This spirit of inquiry, the remembrance of the regular tyranny of the whole Stuart line, and the immediate violence of James II., gave us the Revolution. The court, in the reign of Charles II., had wound up the prerogative to the highest pitch. The nation was so tired of

the civil war, that for a long time they were disposed to submit quietly to the manifest encroachments of the crown. The act for the attainder of the regicides declared, 'that by the undoubted and fundamental laws of this kingdom, neither the peers, nor the commons, nor both together in parliament or out of parliament, nor the people collectively or representatively, nor any other persons whatsoever, ever had, hath, or ought to have, any coercive power over the persons of the kings of this realm.' Former parliaments had, however, in a solemn manner deposed Edward II. and Richard II. The court chaplains, and the clergy in general, began again their former prostitute strains of an unreserved and unlimited obedience. They were now openly joined by the two universities: who echoed the same doctrines; and concurred in assuring the king, that our princes do not derive their title from the people, but from God; that to him only they were accountable; that it belonged not to subjects to create or censure, but to honour and obey, their sove-

reign; and that he became king by a fundamental hereditary right of succession, which no religion, no law, no fault or forfeiture, could alter or diminish. The university of Oxford, in their famous *decree*, which was solemnly presented to king Charles II. and ordered to be hung up in every college, condemned as damnable, impious, and heretical, all the great principles of government,—that power is originally from the people, that resistance to unlawful acts of government is warranted by the constitution, &c. &c. In their *recognition* of James II. they said that they were indispensably bound to bear all faith and true obedience to his majesty, *without any restrictions or limitations*; and that no consideration whatever should be able to shake their stedfast loyalty and allegiance. The act of convocation is dated February 21, 1685, and is exceedingly curious. The gentlemen of the university of Oxford, 'from the bottom of their hearts adore and magnify the providence of our good God, by whom kings reign; who, out of his unspeakable mercy to

this church and state, has preserved your sacred majesty (James II.) in the government of these kingdoms.'

"The nation at large had now the justest notions of civil freedom; and regarded with horror a set of men, who would have given away their own liberties, and the birthright of their posterity. Oppression at last brought about what truth and reason had in vain endeavoured. The clergy and the universities adopted the sentiments of the nation; and all parties, all bodies of men, concurred in the Revolution. The first duty of an historian, a sacred regard to truth, obliges me to take notice, how late both of those bodies of men were before they took the alarm; and how much the rest of the nation went beyond them in zeal and consistency, as well as in priority of time. The clergy shewed the most perfect acquiescence, under the attacks made by James II. on civil liberty. The universities looked on with a cold indifference, till the privileges of a college were invaded. When the rights of the church of England were attacked,

then the first outcry began from the clergy. The universities were only awaked by an attack upon themselves. This conduct made the rest of mankind look upon these two bodies of men, as acting at that time only from private interest; and the constant opposition which the same men gave afterwards to king William, seemed to justify that opinion.

"The reign of Charles II. was very turbulent, from the arbitrary system of the court for ever clashing with the free spirit of the people. His brother and successor was more quiet, till the landing of the prince of Orange. The rebellions of Argyle and Monmouth were soon quelled: the greater storm was then preparing. The conduct of the king gave his enemies all the advantages they could wish over him. He began his reign by a wanton act of despotism; by a direct violation of the Great Charter and the most acknowledged fundamental laws of the kingdom. Even before the parliament met, he ordered the customs to be levied by proclamation, though they had been granted to Charles II. only during his life: by

this step he openly violated the constitution, and usurped one of the most important privileges the people enjoyed—that of giving their own money. Such a step was equally violent and unnecessary; for there could be no doubt that the two houses would make the grant as soon as they met.—The rest of his reign was in all points answerable to that beginning. He assumed and exercised a dispensing power; by which all the laws were submitted to the pleasure of the crown, and the first principles of the English government destroyed,—which lodge the legislative power in king, lords, and commons. There could not be a more direct, or stronger, usurpation on the other two branches of our government. In fact, they became useless, and their authority was annihilated. The rights of the church of England, and the privileges of the universities, were soon the prey of despotism. The laws were openly violated, and the whole executive power was trusted to persons absolutely incapable by act of parliament of being employed in any office civil or military. Although James II., while duke of

York, had been obliged to give up the office of high-admiral by the test act, in his brother's reign, even before he publicly acknowledged himself a Roman-catholic; yet none but those of his own religion were now intrusted with the more important offices,—without taking any of the oaths, or submitting to the qualification required by law. A jesuit was president of the council; most of the lord-lieutenants were catholics; and the army, as well as the fleet, swarmed with officers who had not taken the tests prescribed by an express act of parliament.

"This was the state of England on the landing of the prince of Orange. The nation was plainly left without resource, but in the shock of a military contest; for in the mock trial of sir Edward Hales, a Roman-catholic, the guardians of our laws (the judges) had determined 'that it was an inseparable prerogative of the crown, to dispense with all penal laws.' Luckily for our country, the body of the people appeared unanimous on this occasion. The king could scarcely be said to have a party

who dared to avow him after his second retreat. He was in the most forlorn and desolate condition, without a gleam of hope for security; forsaken even by his own children, with no resource but the meanest and most wretched of all,—the few, narrow ideas, of a mind naturally weak, timid, and superstitious. The tories, who through his brother's and his own reign had preached the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, carried them into practice with respect to him as little as even the whigs. Both parties concurred heartily in excluding a prince who had overturned the legal government. They agreed on this occasion that they were warranted to guard the constitution, as well as to watch over its preservation, by farther securities against the abuse of too great power in the first branch of the legislature.

"The immediate effects of the Revolution, under the prince of Orange, as to the national conduct with respect to our foreign politics, and the numerous bodies of the sectaries at home, ought to be remarked.

" I shall not here take notice of some important points with respect to public liberty which were passed over in silence by the great patriots who brought about the Revolution. Whatever is done on the spur of a present necessity, is seldom mature, perfect, or finished in all its parts. But these considerations will follow more naturally after we have seen all that was actually gained for the public in the reign of William III., and the domestic as well as foreign difficulties, which his temper, prudence, and courage at last surmounted.

" I shall only now add, that our ancestors are more entitled to our gratitude for the blessings we enjoy in consequence of their noble efforts at the Revolution, than to our reproaches for the few things they have left us to do; although experience has taught us, that without these the Revolution is itself imperfect. Our present political liberty owes its very existence indeed to the Revolution; but we may justly regard its continuance as too precarious, its security as ill established.

" The Stuarts had always shewn a strong

partiality to France; one of them was the pensioner of Louis XIV., and had several times employed the force and treasure of England to serve the ambitious views of that monarch. The form of government and the religion of the French were the objects of the affection and choice of James II. This was so glaring, that it was the chief reason which induced the late king of France to revoke the edict of Nantz at that particular period. The aversion which both the brothers shewed to the protestant republic of Holland, kept pace with their fondness for the French government, religion, and monarchy. Charles II. had been at open war with the States, and there never was any cordiality between them and his successor.—The state of foreign politics was totally changed, when the stadtholder of Holland was become king of England. He had been bred in a personal hatred of Louis XIV. Besides his resentment of the wrongs his country had suffered, and all the wanton cruelties of Luxembourg's forces at Bodegrave and Swammerdam (which were fresh in men's minds), he

was soured by the seizing his patrimonial principality of Orange. He seemed to have adopted as the favourite passion and the darling pursuit of his life, the humbling the French king; and the setting bounds to that uncontrouled ambition, which had usurped on every feeble neighbouring state, threatened the total destruction of his native provinces, and drenched Europe with blood. The hatred which the prince of Orange bore to Louis XIV., made him embrace with warmth every possible expedient to detach from France her old allies, and to create her new enemies. With this view he held out to the duke of Hanover the bright object of the crown of England, in order to detach him from the alliance of France. A plan so well laid could not fail of success. The duke, and the elector of Bavaria, had been on every occasion the most firm and zealous friends of that crown, among the numerous princes of the Germanic body. This happy conversion of the house of Hanover to the common cause of liberty in Europe, against the ambition and tyranny of France, we owe

entirely to our great deliverer, who knew mankind perfectly well.

" I shall give some remarkable quotations on this subject from two of our own authors; men of the most opposite character, party, and principles. I mean Burnet and Bolingbroke. The first says, at the end of the Reign of James the second, ' The duke of Hanover was at that time in some engagements with the court of France: but since he had married the princess Sophia of the Palatine house, I ventured to send a message to her by one of their court, who was then at the Hague. He was a French refugee, named M. Baucour. It was to acquaint her with our design with relation to England: and to let her know that, if we succeeded, certainly a perpetual exclusion of all papists from the succession to the crown would be enacted; and since she was the next protestant heir after the two princesses, and the prince of Orange, of whom at that time there was no issue alive, I was very confident, that if the duke of Hanover could be disengaged from the interests of France, so that he

came into our interests, the succession to the crown would be lodged in her person and in her posterity;—though, on the other hand, if he continued as he stood then, engaged with France, I could not answer for this. The gentleman carried the message, and delivered it. The duchess entertained it with much warmth, and brought him to the duke to repeat it to him: but at that time this made no impression on him. He looked on it as a remote and a doubtful project; yet when he saw our success in England, he had other thoughts of it. Some days after this Frenchman was gone, I told the prince what I had done: he approved of it heartily; but was particularly glad that I had done it as of myself, without communicating it to him, or any way engaging him in it;—for he said, if it should happen to be known that the proposition was made by him, it might do us hurt in England,—as if he had already reckoned himself so far master as to be forming projects concerning the succession to the crown.' *Original fol. edition of* 1722, *vol.* i. *page* 757. 'The

king (William III. 1689) ordered me to propose the naming the duchess of Hanover and her posterity next in the succession. He signified his pleasure also in this to the ministers; but he ordered me to begin the motion in the house, because I had already set it on foot: and the duke of Hanover had now other thoughts of the matter, and was separating himself from the interests of France.' *Original fol. edition of vol.* ii. *in* 1734, *page* 15.

" Bolingbroke says, ' The emperor, and the king of Spain, had engaged in the quarrel against France (in 1674): and many of the princes of the empire had done the same; not all. The Bavarian continued obstinate in his neutrality: and, to mention no more, the Swedes made a great diversion in favour of France in the empire; where the duke of Hanover abetted their designs as much as he could,—for he was a zealous partisan of France, though the other princes of his house acted for the common cause.' *Letters on the Study and Use of History*, 8vo *edition of London*, 1752, *vol.* i. *page* 288.

"The nation in general was disposed to second the views of William III.; and the greater part of the powers on the continent appeared eager to join against a prince whom they beheld with jealousy and fear. Boileau, in his public *Remerciment à Messieurs de l'Académie Françoise*, calls the prince of Orange '*cet opiniâtre ennemi de sa gloire* (*de Louis* XIV.), *cet industrieux artisan de ligues et de querelles, qui travaille depuis si long tems à remuer contre lui toute l'Europe.*' This was in 1684; and Boileau was always known to speak the court language of Louis XIV.

"The English now regarded with a favourable eye the republic of Holland. Their late delivery from popery and slavery was attributed in a good degree to the Dutch troops which the States had lent the prince of Orange. The sense of so important a service was universally acknowledged; both parliament and people shewed their gratitude to these foreign officers and soldiers, who spread through the nation a terror and hatred of the French arms and councils. From this period of the Revolution, Eng-

land has continued regularly and steadily to oppose the ambitious views of France; except during two short, critical, and convulsive intervals. The first was at the latter end of queen Ann's reign: the other lasted some years after the accession of George I.; it began immediately on the death of Louis XIV., and continued the whole regency of the duke of Orleans. The national interest was not, however, so much consulted at either of these periods, as the views of a few particulars. During the first period, the interests of a set of tory ministers, whose private schemes of power coincided with the views of France, were alone regarded. At the other period, the family connections of the houses of Brunswick and Orleans directed the councils of both kingdoms, and made them act in concert for several years. George I. courted the assistance of France against the Pretender. The duke of Orleans, presumptive heir of the crown of France, stood in need of the friendship of England against the claims of the king of Spain, who was ready to declare the renunciation totally void. This

coalition of private interests in these powerful families, made the two nations, at that period, act together in the general system of Europe.

" A remarkable change in the national conduct, immediately after the Revolution, with respect to the numerous bodies of the sectaries, ought likewise to be noticed. They had been cruelly oppressed and openly persecuted under the Stuart line. A short respite only had taken place during the reign of James II.; when, in reality to favour the Roman-catholics, he avowed a toleration for all dissenters from the church of England. At length he published a proclamation for liberty of conscience, set up a dispensing power, and permitted every man to hold places in the state without any qualification of tests or oaths. This happened the year before the Revolution. The dissenters of almost every denomination were duped by this artifice of the court. They looked no further than to a present relief from the persecution they had suffered, and seemed too little to consider how it was obtained. They approved the king's illegal measures; and, as if a favour

had been intended to them, even thanked him for so direct a breach in the constitution.

"Soon after the Revolution, the claims of the sectaries were settled on a legal and solid foundation. The English in a good degree adopted the Dutch system of government, as to a general toleration of religious parties. Liberty of conscience began to be considered, not merely as a sound measure of the internal administration of a country, but as a great commercial principle. It had been remarked in two instances too considerable to be overlooked, too recent to be forgot. The one was the amazing rise of Amsterdam, and other great towns of the United Provinces. These, under every natural disadvantage, had become commercial, populous, and wealthy, merely from the asylum given to the subjects of the king of Spain, in the last cruel persecution carried on throughout the Low Countries. The other proof was drawn from what happened a few years before—the almost instantaneous effect of the revocation of the edict of Nantz. An incredible number of the industrious inhabitants of

France had in three years established many new manufactures at London, at Amsterdam, at Berlin, and other protestant cities. It is very possible that king William did not so much regard liberty of conscience as the right of every thinking being; but as a measure to promote trade and commerce, to increase population, and to make his new dominions a safe sanctuary against the persecuting spirit of bigotry by which Louis XIV. was actuated. The prejudices he had imbibed against the Roman-catholics, and his conduct towards that sect, seem to prove that his principles of toleration and freedom of thought did not proceed from a mind tinctured with sound philosophy, or zealous for the primary rights of mankind. He endeavoured to abolish the penal laws with respect to protestant dissenters of every denomination, and to take away the necessity of receiving the sacrament for the enjoyment of any office or place of trust. The idea was to exclude only the Roman-catholics, and to admit all the other sectaries to be capacitated equally with the members of the church of

England. It must be allowed that the Roman-catholics are, in some important particulars, to be considered in a different light from all other dissenters: not only because their religion is intolerant, bloody, and idolatrous; but from their claims with respect to the controlling, in many points, the civil power of the magistrate,—and the *imperium in imperio* which their priests have in other countries established.

"The king did not succeed in abolishing the sacramental test in favour of protestant dissenters; the tory and the high-church party opposing with much heat the proposals for a general comprehension of all the protestants. The penal laws against them were indeed repealed; and the act of toleration gave them an entire security—on the express condition, however, of their taking the oaths to the government, and subscribing the declaration of the 30th of Charles II. Their preachers were to subscribe the articles of the church of England, except the 34th, 35th, and 36th, with a few words of the 20th. The Roman-catholics, and all persons denying the Trinity, were left to the

rigour of the old penal laws, by a special clause in the act. It is certain, the act of toleration was a considerable point gained at that time in favour of religious liberty; for it put an effectual stop to the rage and madness of persecution among the protestants. The forbearance and lenity of the administration left the Roman-catholics little cause of complaint. On the basis of this act rest, at this hour, the most precious rights and privileges of all protestant dissenters from the established church. It has proved a firm bulwark against the fury of bigots and enthusiasts; though a philosophical mind must object to the unjust shackles which tyranny has forged of *all* subscriptions, creeds, tests, and oaths. I except that single oath or affirmation which no well-meaning citizen can scruple,—of a legal obedience to the civil governor; which, for its very existence as well as security, every state seems warranted to require from the subject.

"I thought these general observations would be useful before we enter on the great and important facts which occur in the reign of

William III. and changed the face of Europe as well as of England. The wealth and power of the whole British empire was from the period of the Revolution directed against France. The nation then began to appear once more among the first monarchies, after an eclipse of nearly two centuries, under the ignominious race of the Stuarts, excepting a short burst of glory during the Protectorate. From the death of queen Elizabeth, England had been little considered by any of the powers of the continent, although the settled tranquillity and union of the whole island, under the same sovereign, had increased her strength, and created what is most necessary to every state, an internal security. The constant factions, and the struggles of the people in support of their liberties against four successive prerogative princes intoxicated with the doctrines of dreaming schoolmen, kept the English fully employed at home. At this important era of the Revolution, fearing no longer for their own freedom, they began to consider the antient glory, the dignity, the

power, and extent of their empire, as well as the high spirit of the people, with the solid advantages they enjoy beyond any other nation which has appeared on the earth, being at once as commercial as the Carthaginians, and as warlike as the Romans. The English had, like the Romans, a new war to sustain against the tyrant whom they had expelled; but it was neither very formidable nor of long duration: James II. sunk into universal contempt, while the new king of England became the vital principle of all the confederacies among the princes of Europe against the usurping ambition of Louis XIV.; and under his happy auspices liberty was established at home, and so firmly rooted in the hearts of his people as never to perish but with the dissolution of the British empire.

"I have purposely avoided entering into a minute discussion of the principles on which the Revolution is founded. A free and manly people are superior to the justification of their conduct by the formal rules laid down indiscriminately for all cases by some men of study,

and denied by others. There is, however, a passage of Grotius, in the celebrated work *de Jure Belli et Pacis*, so very apposite to the Revolution, so full an approbation of the conduct of our fathers, that I think it ought to find its place here. I shall only farther remark, it is taken from the first, the most original, profound, and accurate of all the productions of modern times on the power of the sovereign and the subject, which was published sixty-three years before the glorious era of our Revolution, dedicated in the plenitude of Richelieu's power to Louis XIII., and appeared with the French king's privilege. The passage is taken from the chapter *de bello subditorum in superiores*, sect. 13, page 113. I quote the quarto edition published by Grotius himself at Paris, in 1625:—'*Si rex partem habeat summi imperii, partem alteram populus, aut senatus, regi in partem non suam involanti vis justa opponi poterit, quia eatenus imperium non habet. Quod locum habere censeo, etiamsi dictum sit, belli potestatem penes regem fore. Id enim de bello externo intelligendum*

est. Cùm alioqui quisquis imperii summi partem habeat, non possit non jus habere eam partem tuendi. Quod ubi fit, potest rex etiam suam imperii partem belli jure amittere.' 'If the king have a part of the supreme power, and the people or the senate have the other part, should the king invade the part not his own, he may be lawfully resisted. I think this is well founded, although I have declared that the right of making war is in the king; for that must be understood of foreign wars: since whoever has a share of the supreme power must necessarily have a right of defending his share. When such a case happens, the king may also, by the right of war, lose his share of the supreme power.'

"James II. was plainly the aggressor. By his violent conduct he left the people no possibility of a legal redress according to the forms prescribed by the law and the constitution. The parliament could not even meet without his previous writ of summons. In such a case, and in every other where the laws are silent, recourse must be had to the great maxim of all

governments, the preservation of legal establishment. The question plainly was, 'Is the king of England an absolute despotic monarch, whose will is law; whose prerogative is to dispense with the penal acts of the whole legislature, and with all statutes and charters; and are the people his slaves?' or 'Is the king of England a limited sovereign, bound by the laws, and by a solemn oath to the nation to govern according to law; and are the people free, and entitled to various privileges and liberties as their birth-right?' This was in reality the great controversy. The king was almost single in the first opinion. The nation seemed unanimous in the second. Unfortunately for James II., the Scots joined the English on this important occasion, and their conduct was still more manly, noble, and spirited. To please the tories and the high-church party, we lost ourselves in doubtful terms and silly questions of chicane; we were perplexed among ourselves to prove that the king had abdicated and deserted. The Scots spoke the language of a free people: they de-

clared that he had forfeited the crown. Both nations resolved to assert their freedom, and of consequence to exclude for ever a prince, who, it was plain, would be perpetually a principal in the state to sap and undermine liberty.

"Foreign nations have very generally seen the Revolution in a false and partial light. They have considered it as the sole consequence of the religious bigotry of James II., and entirely overlooked all his overt acts to destroy the civil liberties of his people. The archbishop of Rheims said, '*Voilà un bon homme, qui a quitté trois royaumes pour une messe!*'—'There goes a good creature, who has given three kingdoms for a mass!'—This was not exactly the case. He might have gone quietly to mass, and remained the sovereign of the three kingdoms, if he had not attacked the established rights of his subjects; if he had not overturned the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and, being trusted with only a limited power, endeavoured to make himself a despotic monarch. The English would rather

have suffered him to turn Turk than tyrant. They might have been prevailed upon to let him go very quietly to the mosque or to mass, and in either case would only have pitied his folly, if he had not violated the rights of his people.—Let us examine the conduct of a neighbouring nation, in circumstances nearly parallel as to the religion of the prince and people. After the death of Henry III. there could be no doubt that lineal succession gave the crown of France to the king of Navarre, whose memory is now as sacred to every good subject of France, as that of Alfred is among us. He was of a different religion from the body of his people. The greater part of the nation refused to acknowledge him. By force of arms he was for several years kept out of his capital; nor was he received into Paris till after his solemn abjuration at St. Denis. Although Henry IV. had violated no law in favour of his own sect, had usurped no rights of the catholics, used no violence or compulsion to any man, yet a conformity to the national religion was made the essential point

of his subjects' obedience. If, therefore, as to this single article of religion, any argument be to be drawn from the practice of a most civilized people, the English are abundantly justified. I might add that the case is infinitely stronger in their favour, from the peculiar circumstances of the bigotry, the usurpations, the violence and the spirit of persecution in James II. These rendered his exclusion from the throne, not only a measure founded in right, but dictated by the necessity of the case, and the primary law of nature,—self-preservation. It is remarkable, that among the state-papers relative to the peace of Ryswick there is an answer to a memorial of James II. which has the following noble passage: 'The degradation of king James was founded upon his subversion of the fundamental laws of the state, the avenging of which the English nation declared belonged to itself; that such is the constitution of its monarchy; and that every state has its laws, for which it is not answerable to any other state.'

"Liberty was the direct avowed principle of

the English at the Revolution, as much as of the Romans at the expulsion of the whole family of the Tarquins. Tacitus says, '*Libertatem et consulatum Brutus instituit.*' 'Brutus established liberty and the consulship.'—The preservation of the laws and liberties of Great Britain, was the letter as well as the spirit of every declaration made by the prince of Orange. The families of Brutus and Nassau will be gratefully remembered by all posterity as the avengers of tyranny, and the protectors of the freedom of their nations and of mankind. The first Brutus drove out the Tarquins, and died gloriously in the field, fighting against the enemies of his country. The last Brutus delivered Rome from the tyranny of Cesar, and gave liberty to his fellow-citizens: but he could not give that public virtue by which alone it can be preserved and secured. The first Nassau delivered his country from the intolerable yoke of Spain, and the Inquisition, when Philip II. endeavoured to enslave the Netherlands. He founded the free republic of the

United Provinces, and fell a victim to the cause of liberty. The last Nassau preserved the independency of his own country, generously risked every thing in defence of the liberties of England, settled a just and equal plan of freedom, and made three kingdoms happy under a mild and temperate government.

"From the Revolution, the sovereign and the subject have continued firm to a free and well-tempered monarchy, built on the basis of public liberty. England has been an empire of mild and equal laws. Montesquieu observes, '*Il y a une nation dans le monde, qui a pour objet direct de sa constitution la liberté politique.*' 'There is a nation in the world which has for the direct end of its constitution, political liberty.' *Esprit des Lois*, book xi. ch. 5.—This is now woven into every part of our constitution; and even though we were at any particular crisis to be betrayed or sold to our princes; though in the infinite lapse of ages a venal parliament or a profligate soldiery

might arise, who would bargain for our liberties; the people will not fail to resume their rights, and exercise themselves, on a great emergency, the power they only lend to their magistrates and governors. The conduct of the Romans was remarkable, and ought to be a warning to us. They expelled the Tarquins almost as unanimously as we did the Stuarts. They boasted of being the only free nation, yet at last became the slaves of one family from generation to generation; and if now and then a faint ray of freedom beamed forth, they soon sunk again into darkness. They had made the most monstrous grants to the sovereign, '*sibi omnia licere, et in omnes*,'—'that to him all was lawful, and against all:' yet, when Nero grew a monster of tyranny, they ordered him to be punished *more majorum*—although it is difficult to conceive how, after such a formal surrender of every thing, he could be guilty of any act of injustice or tyranny. Nature remonstrated at first against so shameful a grant, and afterwards commanded the resumption.

"The English at the Revolution not only recovered their liberties, but laid down a plan of perpetuating them to their latest posterity, and expressly circumscribed the power of their princes. They declared on what terms they gave their crown, and under what express limitations it should be worn by all succeeding sovereigns. By this legal tenure it must continue to be held. The English have regularly, since the era of the flight of their last tyrant, manifested in the cause of freedom a constancy, a courage, a firmness more than Roman. Such be their virtues to the latest ages! and may they continue a great and happy people, the patrons of universal liberty, the scourge of tyrants, the refuge of the oppressed; and long hold out to the world, what is truly the boast of rational beings, a mild and free government, just, powerful, independent, commercial, tolerant, generous and brave! These are the true glories of this land of liberty, in the most enlightened age of philosophy. May Englishmen in all future ages possess and hold

sacred these invaluable blessings! May every prince who shall sway the sceptre of this great and free country have always in mind, 'that other nations can bear slavery, but liberty is the characteristic of Englishmen!'—'*Aliæ nationes servitutem pati possunt*; *populi Anglicani est propria libertas.*' "

SUPPLEMENT TO GIBBON.

[At the request of many of Mr. Wilkes's friends, the following essay, written by Mr. Wilkes, is also subjoined. It was originally entitled *The Observer*; but he afterwards changed the name, and called it "A Supplement to the Miscellaneous Works of Mr. Gibbon." He had twenty copies printed by John Nichols, esq. for his particular friends: therefore, as it is in the hands of only a very few gentlemen, those persons who have heard of it, and cannot procure a copy, will not be displeased to find it here.]

THE OBSERVER.

Ipse, ubi tempus erit, omnes in fonte lavabo. VIRGIL.

TO

EDWARD GIBBON, ESQ.

ONE OF THE LORDS OF TRADE.

SIR,

IT is true that you are a very late ministerial convert: but your zeal is ardent; and you become so distinguished a figure in the group of placemen and pensioners, that you ought to fix the first attention of The Observer. The Mémoire Justificatif, which you have circulated with much industry as a favourite performance among your friends, would alone entitle you to this, perhaps, painful pre-eminence.

The curiosity of this idle and luxurious capital has of late been highly gratified by the

number and importance of state papers which have engaged the general attention. France, Spain, and at last England since the ministerial purchase of your pen, have fed the insatiate politician with food in an abundance sufficient to cloy the most craving appetite. France has the merit of having taken the lead. England only yields to her in priority of time; for the banquet she has furnished will be found of the more exquisite relish. The grave Spaniard has merely served up an olla podrida of very stale fragments—to the number of one hundred.

I am much pleased when sovereigns condescend to reason, as they suppose, and to hold out what they call the real motives of their actions, and a full justification of their conduct. We know the purpose is, artfully to disguise, perplex, and conceal; but not infrequently a ray of truth pierces the Stygian gloom. Instead of sound argument, a subtile cavil, or flimsy pretext, is substituted. The great efficient motive is generally kept out of sight; yet often something escapes, which is

not meant to meet the eye. This kind of proceeding has been common to all the crowned heads of Europe. What marks the Mémoire Justificatif, as well as the French and Spanish state papers, at the present era, is the total want of that politeness which gentlemen do not forget even in their private altercations. The respectable tribunal of civilized Europe, to which the appeal is made in the Mémoire Justificatif, had a just claim, sir, to decency of language; and the person in whose name the appeal was made, should have preserved the dignity of character hitherto inseparable from the sovereign of a great and free nation.

The example of a petulant illiberality was indeed given in the publications of the courts of France and Spain; but men of letters regret that the answer from England has in a degree justified what was before severely condemned by every dispassionate state in Europe. It was hoped that you, sir, by the most studied urbanity, as well as superiority of argument, would have made England triumph, not have

copied, and in some instances exceeded, the low railing accusation of the foreign offices. Was a gentleman of rank, a member of the British parliament, of the most classical talents, to vie in scurrility with the under-clerks of under-secretaries? Has a lord of trade been employed to traffic in the grossest abuse, and to retail in a solemn memorial the vulgar expressions of fausseté, perfidie, orgueil, dissimulation, &c. &c.? Your facts should have been few, well chosen, strong and pointed; your language not diffuse, flowery, declamatory, but close, nervous, and above all,—because it was in the name of your prince, —polite. Could not a single substantive escape without being compelled to marry an adjective? Why must it be "la déclaration [ouverte] de leur indépendance [prétendue]" page 14, after the third anniversary of the independence of the United States had been celebrated? The independence of the country is tolerably well established, when a foreign prince cannot make an exciseman.

Your zeal I applaud, the mode of its exer-

tion I reprobate. It was indeed wonderful, that when every true lover of his country shrunk from the present ministerial crew, men despised through Europe and abhorred at home, you, sir, so late as July last, listed under their inglorious banners, and, independent in fortune, unincumbered with a family, joined yourself to corruption, imbecillity, and infamy, by accepting a seat at the board of trade! I give you joy of the promotion of lord Carlisle, by the Gazette of the 6th of this month, to be president of your board. It is another proof of his majesty's happy discernment of the peculiar talents of his subjects, to appoint the earl of Carlisle, not of his houshold, but first lord of trade. You and I have read in a celebrated antient, "Principis est virtus maxima, nosse suos." The measure will be highly relished by the commercial interest of this kingdom. His lordship will as certainly restore our lost trade, as he restored peace with America when he was first commissioner to the congress. In the mean time so perfect a sinecure is exactly adapted to his lordship's temper and

talents. He will sit down contented, after a long fruitless trans-atlantic voyage, with the parade and profit of his new post, without casting one longing look behind.

In September you gave the world, in our sovereign's name, the Mémoire Justificatif. I blush for the folly and prodigality of the age, when I reflect that Mr. Gibbon has 1000*l.* a year for a contemptible compilation, and Milton received only 1000*l.* for his noble Defence of the People of England. What a beautiful consistency of conduct the Observer must remark in our prince! Mr. Gibbon obtains a place, and the Welsh champion of Christendom, Henry Edward Davies, B. A. of Baliol college, Oxford, who attacked him as an ignorant but daring, infidel, secures a pension. The avowed atheist David Hume, was appointed, with a large salary, to represent the sacred person of our most religious king abroad, at the politest court in Europe. The doughty defender of the kirk of Scotland, Dr. James Beattie, a professor in lord Bute's university of Aberdeen, stays at home, and is

rewarded with a pension, by the head of the church of England, for having overthrown this mighty David. Surely this must be the richest and most foolish country in the universe!

Your conversion was not more rapid than unexpected. In the course of the last session you had frequent opportunities of observing the professions and conduct of the minister, and the force of truth had more than once carried you from him among the minority. The bold lord advocate of Scotland testified his surprise at your first vote against his ministerial friends. You told him, that you had voted with ministry as long as any man of honour could. What change has since happened —except at the board of trade? What single act of reparation has there been to an injured public? What new system of measures has been adopted, to which you are now giving your support? What other plan have you undertaken to justify, by accepting the pay of administration, the very individual administration with which you declared that no man

of honour could vote the very last session?

The Mémoire Justificatif differs very essentially from other state papers of no less authority, the king's speeches to his parliament. The Mémoire gives us a long and minute detail of many and various infractions of the last peace of Paris. We find the particular period at which they began, carefully marked. With remarkable affectation the first words of the French Exposé des Motifs are quoted, "lorsque la Providence appella le roi au trône, la France jouissoit de la paix la plus profonde," p. 5. This is the precise term from which you, sir, date all the violations of the law of nations, and the last treaty of peace and amity signed at Paris in 1763. Louis XV. died in May 1774. Let us now compare the declarations of the king of England, from the period of that event, to his two houses of parliament, with what you have now given Europe in his name. The Mémoire contains a regular succession of complaints made by our ambassador, during the present French king's whole reign,

that the Americans were supplied with " salpêtre, la poudre à canon, les munitions de guerre, les armes, l'artillerie," p. 15; and it is added that " la conduite des négocians François annonçoit hautement qu'ils étoient assurés non seulement de l'impunité, mais de la protection même et de la faveur des ministres de la cour de Versailles." Thes hips of France scarcely went to America, it is said, but to carry warlike stores to the rebels. We are told that the proofs were clear, and the remonstrances from our ambassador strong; but it seems as little regarded by the French king as the remonstrances of the people of England have been by the present sovereign of Great Britain. " Ils n'abordèrent en Amérique que pour livrer aux rebelles les armes et les munitions de guerre dont ils étoient chargés," 16. The English ambassador " indiquoit les noms, le nombre et la qualité, des vaisseaux que les agens du commerce de l'Amérique faisoient équiper dans les ports de la France, pour porter aux rebelles des armes, des munitions de guerre, et même des officiers François qu' on avoit en-

gagé dans le service des colonies revoltées," p. 16.

" The nine large vessels of the witty sieur de Beaumarchais, a former favourite of, but now a *rebel* to, his god Apollo, and seeking independence from Mammon, are complained of, p. 17; but carefully distinguished from the " Amphitrite, qui porta vers le même tems une grande quantité de munitions de guerre, et trente officiers François, qui passèrent impunément au service des rebelles," p. 17. But the following passage ought to be given entire, because you tell us that it was part of a memorial delivered to the French court in November, 1777, by the ambassador of the king of Great Britain. " Il y a à Rochfort un vaisseau de soixante pièces de canon, et à l'Orient un vaisseau des Indes percé pour soixante canons. Ces deux vaisseaux sont destinés pour l'usage des rebelles. Ils seront chargés de différentes marchandises, et fretés par messieurs Chaumont, Holkeu et Sabatier—Le vaisseau l'Heureux est parti de Marseilles, sous un autre nom, le vingt-six de Septembre. Il va en droiture à la

Nouvelle Hampshire, quoiqu'il prétend aller aux Isles. On y a permis l'embarquement de trois mille fusils, et de deux mille cinq cents livres de souffre, marchandise aussi nécessaire aux Américains qu'elle est inutile dans les Isles. Ce vaisseau est commandé par M. Lundi, officier François, officier de distinction, ci-devant lieutenant de M. de Bougainville.—L'Hippopotame, appartenant au sieur Beaumarchais, doit avoir à son bord quatorze mille fusils et beaucoup de munitions de guerre, pour l'usage des rebelles. Ils partiront de Nantes, de l'Orient, de St. Malo, du Havre, de Bourdeaux, de Bayonne, et de différens autres ports. Voici les noms de quelques-uns des principaux intéressés, M. Chaumont, M. Mention, et ses associés, &c. &c." p. 17, 18. Are the English people and parliament to learn all these important circumstances first from a state paper in French, delivered by order of their own sovereign to all foreign courts? The parliament met towards the end of the same month of November, 1777. How carefully was the truth concealed from them! Not the least hint of

such infractions of the peace of Paris, of such an insult to the honour of the crown! No notice was taken of this great warlike aid, not private, commercial traffic! The king's speech, Nov. 20, 1777, only said, "I receive repeated assurances from foreign powers, of their pacific dispositions." What a contempt of parliament, to communicate only trifling, verbal assurances, and, at the same moment, industriously to keep back, from the great council of the nation, the knowledge of important and interesting facts, which contradicted those very assurances! It is the observation of the author of the Mémoire Justificatif, "Ce tribunal, composé des hommes éclairés et désintéressés de toutes les nations, ne s'arrête jamais aux professions, et c'est par les actions des princes qu'il doit juger des motifs de leurs procédés et des sentimens de leurs cœurs." With the same intention of misleading parliament were all the speeches from the throne framed since the very epoch to which you always allude, although you have proved that administration were at the time possessed of the clearest evidence of the

hostile proceedings of France, pendant quatre ans, p. 5. At the opening of the present parliament, in November 1774, his majesty declared, "It shall be my constant aim and endeavour to prevent the breaking out of fresh disturbances; and I cannot but flatter myself I shall succeed, as I continue to receive the strongest assurances from other powers of their being equally disposed to preserve the peace." Did the prince, whose wisdom and prudence you have so lavishly celebrated, really trust to the strongest assurances combated by the strongest facts stated in your Mémoire, or was parliament designedly misled? The same acts of perfidy and hostility, you say, were regularly continued by France; and I find the same declarations in the May following, at the close of the session, by the same solemn assurances in the words of the speech. The delusion was continued the following session; for in the speech from the throne in October, 1775, his majesty says, "I am happy to add, that as well from the assurances I have received, as from

the general appearance, &c." Did the general appearance warrant this declaration? Through the year 1776 was a continuation of the old manœuvres with apparently a similar intent. In May we heard from the throne, "It is with pleasure I inform you that the assurances which I have received of the dispositions of the several powers in Europe, &c." and, in November, "I continue to receive assurances of amity from the several courts of Europe, &c." I have already stated the expressions of the speech in November 1777; and in the March following the declaration of the marquis de Noailles was delivered.

The rescript of the French ambassador, presented the 15th of March 1778, is called, in the Mémoire Justificatif, "la déclaration de guerre par le marquis de Noailles," p. 21, and you assert that it was a "moment fatal et décisif," p. 5.[11] If it was then considered as a declaration of war on the part of France, and it is now so declared by the king, surely the dignity of the crown, which his majesty wears, required that

it should immediately be answered by a declaration of war on the part of England, not by an artful memorial after more than eighteen months had elapsed. A spirited measure of that nature would have struck terror into the wavering Spaniard. He would probably have temporized for years, as he did the last war, when Pitt and Victory had subdued every thing but the malignant envy of your faction. It might have been a moment "fatal et décisif pour la France." I deny, however, that this rescript of the French ambassador can in any way be considered as a declaration of war. It gives notice merely of a treaty of friendship and commerce. I cannot find in it a syllable of the furnishing land forces, or ships, of armies or fleets, of attack or defence, of guarantees or reciprocal military succours. The new Scottish secretary of state, lord Stormont, is of my opinion. He acknowledged in the house of lords last December, on the debate respecting lord Carlisle's proclamation, "that *this treaty* had nothing in view but advantages of a commercial intercourse; but that he could

assure them, there was another treaty." How can the announcing this treaty then be a declaration of war? It is expressly declared to be only "un traité d'amitié et de commerce, destiné à servir de base à la bonne correspondence mutuelle," and that "sa majesté est résolue de cultiver la bonne intelligence subsistante entre la France et la Grande Bretagne." Is this a declaration of war against England? Every man who reads it must laugh at the absurdity of the assertion. The rest of the rescript states, that "le roi étoit déterminé à protéger efficacement la liberté légitime du commerce de ses sujets;" and that "les Etats Unis ont conservé la liberté de traiter avec toutes les nations quelconques sur le même pied." It is impossible that such a rescript could be held to be a specific declaration of war against England! It is to be observed that the United States of North America had, at the time of the rescript, been in full possession of independency but little short of two years.

The Mémoire Justificatif furnishes abundant evidence that the conduct of France, ever since

the æra of the late French king's death, has been hostile, and that long before the declaration of independence he assisted the Americans with warlike stores of every kind, in the most public manner. Here then was just ground of hostility on the part of England,—military succours given to those whom the British king had declared rebellious subjects. The substance of the Mémoire Justificatif would have composed the materials of a formal declaration of war by harlequin heralds; and if the London Gazette had, by a new effort, told only half the truth, it would have opened the eyes of all Europe. Why then the ridiculous pretext of a commercial treaty, when the proofs are multiplied of "l'attention constante et soutenue de la cour de Versailles à nourrir la discorde et la guerre," p. 17.? The conduct of the court of England has been uniform through this whole reign, to contemn and oppress their own subjects, and tamely to submit to the insults of foreign powers, meanly to crouch to them, and set the people of England at defiance. On this plan, every art of flattery

has been employed both to France and Spain, till an open rupture became apparent, and then the court in an equally indecent manner hastened to the other extreme. After undeniable evidence of the intentions of France, corroborated by a long succession of hostile acts, why were not the most early and effectual preparations made against the certain impending storm? Why was the French navy suffered to increase in a manner not to rival, but surpass, that of England? With the proofs given in the Mémoire Justificatif, war had been a just and necessary measure. From the duke of Grafton's note, taken at the time by his grace, and produced in the house of peers on the motion of lord Bristol, the 23d of April last, it appeared that lord Sandwich asserted "that no man was fit to be first lord of the admiralty who did not always take care to have a fleet equal to the fleets of France and Spain." That his lordship did not take care to have such a fleet is highly criminal, when it is recollected that the most servile of all parliaments never refused any thing asked by the most prodigal of all mi-

nisters. The fact is, France alone has the two last years shewn herself superior to us on our own element. This very year the combined fleets chased the English admiral into our own ports, maintained for some months the empire of the British channel, and spread terror even to the most distant shores of the Thames, Medway, and Humber. Yet the same first lord of the admiralty continues in power, under the general indignation of mankind indeed, as he confesses in the speech published by himself, p. 7, but with the declared protection and great personal favour of his pious sovereign. A similar declaration of the importance of the naval force of this kingdom you have given the king in the Mémoire Justificatif, p. 11, "Les forces maritimes ont fait dans tous les siècles la sureté et la gloire de ses états." Have our safety and glory depended the two last years on our naval force? In the king's speech of Nov. 20, 1777, it is indeed said, "I have thought it advisable to make a considerable augmentation to my naval force, as well to keep my kingdoms in a re-

spectable state of security, as to provide an adequate protection for the extensive commerce of my subjects." In the Mémoire Justificatif, p. 12, the king says that he declared to his parliament, "qu'il convenoit dans la situation actuelle des affaires, que la défense de l'Angleterre se trouvât dans un état respectable." The expression in French of "la défense se trouvât dans un état" is perhaps not very exact; but I wish l'Angleterre were even now dans un état respectable. I understand a state of defence, and the defence of a state,—but not quite so clearly defence finding itself in a state. Did the inhabitants of Plymouth, last autumn, rest at home secure and happy in the protection of the British navy,—or did they in the most dastardly manner run away, scared at the spectre of an invader? Have the shipping of Kingston on Hull, and other towns, been saved from the ravages of Paul Jones, even in our own harbours, in this glorious age of George III.? Was the Ardent man of war safe almost in Plymouth Sound? This neglect of the naval force of this kingdom for our in-

ternal defence becomes matter of the deepest guilt, when we know to what a low state the army was reduced, while the administration pretended in parliament that our home defence was their great and primary object. From a letter of lord George Germaine to sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, May 18, 1777, it appears that "at the time the augmentation sailed from Europe we had not a single matross left in the island, and but one battalion of the regiment of artillery in Great Britain." Every lover of his country must look with horror on the treachery of ministers in thus leaving us an easy prey to our ancient enemies, while the great force of the nation was employed in the mad scheme of establishing arbitrary power in America.

The sovereigns of Europe have seldom been thus unguarded in their manifestos. It has been observed, that they are peculiarly attentive to their declarations in state papers, and seldom suffer any great inadvertencies to escape. The French "Exposé des Motifs" furnishes, however, a palpable instance of negligence. It

is asserted, that "la cour de Londres faisoit dans ses ports des préparatifs et des armemens qui ne pourroient avoir l'Amérique pour objet." Such an assertion is to be paralleled only with monsieur Gerard's declarations to the congress of the French king's love of liberty. They are absolutely words without a pretence to meaning. Such, sir, are your expressions of "les dispositions paternelles de leur souverain légitime," p. 27, as to the Americans, and "l'équité a toujours prescrit les sentiments et la conduite du roi, et sa prudence même est le garand de sa sincérité et de sa modération," p. 9. What a pity it is that the same line could not contain the king's panegyric on his own modesty, as well as on his prudence, sincerity, and moderation! As to the virtue of equity, we may guess at the royal idea of it, when we recollect that the king of England's sense of equity must be derived from his lord chancellor Thurlow, because he is declared to be the keeper of the king's conscience. The "dispositions paternelles" of the king to his American subjects, the whole conduct of the war,

and the proclamations in his name, will lead us to discover. General Burgoyne, lately returned from the king's closet, in his sovereign's name, and by his orders, in the proclamation of June 1777, from the camp at Putnam creek, talks of giving a stretch to the Indian forces, of executing the vengeance of the state, of the messengers of wrath, of devastation, famine, and every concomitant horror. Among the various grievances complained of with justice by general Burgoyne, it is surprising that he should omit the cruelty of his not being preferred with you to a seat at the board of trade; for he too issued a cruel and sanguinary proclamation, as well as the earl of Carlisle, and William Eden, esq. another lord of trade. The proclamation of the earl of Carlisle, sir Henry Clinton, and William Eden, esq. October 19, 1778, breathes a spirit of rage, and even extermination. It threatens the extremes of war, and every kind of desolation. It allows a maxim absolutely inconsistent with the law of nations, that Great Britain may, by every means in her power, desolate and destroy what

ceases to be her interest to preserve. I will venture to affirm, that no measure of any prince now reigning has been received with more general indignation than this proclamation to destroy by fire and sword a large continent, lost by oppression and tyranny, and unconquerable by the force of arms. The presidentship of the board of trade will not wipe away the stain, which the signing such a proclamation will to our latest posterity fix on the name of Frederick Howard, earl of Carlisle. Numberless acts of cruelty have been perpetrated in conformity to the threatened terrors of the two proclamations, with circumstances of uncommon barbarity. The answer of the congress to lord Carlisle's proclamation, by unanimous consent, Oct. 30, 1778, is clear and strong. "The congress, desirous, since they could not prevent, at least to alleviate, the calamities of war, have studied to spare those who were in arms against them, and to lighten the chains of captivity.

"The conduct of those serving under the king of Great Britain hath, with some few ex-

ceptions, been diametrically opposite. They have laid waste the open country, burnt the defenceless villages, and butchered the citizens of America. Their prisons have been the slaughter-houses of her soldiers, their ships of her seamen, and the severest injuries have been aggravated by the grossest insult."

I will quit a subject so disgraceful to English honour and humanity, after stating one remarkable fact from the "Narrative of the Capture and Treatment of John Dodge by the English at Detroit," published by himself. *American Remembrancer*, vol. viii. p. 77. His majesty's governors seem to have the same idea of his "dispositions paternelles" towards the Americans, as his generals and commissioners. "Governor Hamilton ordered myself and two servants to be ready, at a moment's warning, to march under captain Le Motte on the scouting party with Indians. I told him it was against my inclination to take up arms against my own flesh and blood; and much more so, to go with savages to butcher and scalp defenceless women and children, that were not inter-

ested in the present dispute. He said, it was not any of my business whether they were interested in the dispute or not; and added, If you are not ready when called for, I will fix you. Lucky for me he was soon after called down the country, and succeeded by captain Mountpresent as commander, who ordered Le Motte to strike my name out of his books; but my servants, with their pay, I lost entirely. The party of savages under Le Motte went out with orders not to spare man, woman, or child. To this cruel mandate even some of the savages made an objection, respecting the butchering the women and children; but they were told the children would make soldiers, and the women would keep up the stock."

In the first page of the Mémoire Justificatif, you mention the king of Great Britain's being obliged to employ "les forces que Dieu et son peuple lui ont confiés." The expression is unlucky, for it instantly brings to our recollection the state of Ireland. It was imprudent to remind all Europe that a neighbouring kingdom have with spirit taken their defence into

their own hands; and that his people of Ireland will not leave their sovereign the naming of a single officer to an army of twenty thousand men. In their island we shall hear of more than one matross, more than one battalion of the regiment of artillery, commanded by natives, brave officers as any in the Prussian service, and chosen by men determined to be free.

An unguarded expression, even in a solemn memorial, may be pardoned; but no apology can be made for a deliberate assertion unfounded in truth. You assert, page 3, "Colonies Angloises, qui ne fondoient leur indépendance prétendue que sur la hardiesse de leur révolte." Is it possible, sir, that you should not have read the "Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled," the famous declaration of independence of the memorable 4th of July, 1776? In that declaration a number of reasons are given, and facts stated, on which they founded their claim of independence. Among many others they mention,

" for imposing taxes on us without our consent; for depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury; for transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences; for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies; for taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments; for suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever," &c. &c. &c. Now I ask if these fundamental principles, or this foundation, is merely " la hardiesse de leur révolte," without an attempt at argument, or reasoning deduced from a long chain of established facts? It is much easier to persuade the king of Great Britain, after the example of his Scottish attorney-general, to call Dr. Franklin " un agent ténébreux," and Hancock and

Adams "chefs audacieux et criminels," page 3, than to answer the manifestoes and appeals of the North Americans.

I have now, sir, finished the irksome task of examining and observing upon your Mémoire Justificatif. You will acknowledge that I have proceeded, no less than yourself, "sans crainte et sans flatterie," p. 1. In the progress, what compassion have I felt for you, when I reflected on the many weary hours it has cost your learned leisure! I still more commiserated you for those keen reproaches of conscience, which you must have suffered in an attempt to justify the proceedings of an administration, which so lately, as a man of honour, you reprobated. But perhaps the task was commanded by a task-master more cruel than those of Egypt? Or, was it undertaken to divert your attention from the promised second volume of your "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire?" Such a subject must press with full force on your mind in the present moment, as to this lately flourishing empire. You might possibly with great pru-

dence prefer a period prior to the loss of thirteen powerful colonies, and some rich sugar islands. It would at once sooth your own mind, and gratify the cabal, by the specious and glaring colouring of your eloquence; but, alas! how unavailing! Are we indeed secure of the return of the allegiance of any one of the lately revolted provinces, after all our efforts? The boundaries of this empire, so gloriously extended by our excellent Trajan, George II., recede on every side, even under his immediate successor. The neighbouring island of Sicily renounces the yoke, and seems ripe for revolt. By the weakness of the king's councils, and intestine discord, the state is shaken and convulsed to its centre. The first prince of the Brunswick line was styled fortunate, like the second of the Cesars. In the acclamations to all the succeeding emperors of Trajan, the formulary vow was, "felicior Augusto, melior Trajano." An Englishman would wish his sovereign to be more fortunate than the first George, more excellent than the second. The present reigning prince, with all the virtues of

equity, prudence, sincerity, and moderation, must be acknowledged unfortunate. In his reign we have already to lament the narrow, contracted limits and rapid decline of the British empire. May heaven avert the storm, which seems to threaten even the dissolution of our state, scarcely to leave a wreck after the mighty fall of a potent empire under the modern Augustulus!

Nov. 25, 1779. THE OBSERVER.

EXTRACT FROM

LINGUET ANNALES POLITIQUES, &c.

VOL. VII. P. 78.

"La traduction du Mémoire au ministère de Londres par le marquis d'Almodovar, a été faite, dans les gazettes Françoises, d'après les papiers Anglois; ces papiers ont copié l'exemplaire remis par le secrétaire d'état aux chambres: or, cet exemplaire étoit lui-même une traduction de l'Espagnol; et il s'y est glissé une faute que l'on seroit tenté de regarder comme réfléchie, tant elle est ridicule.

"On y lit que malgré les expressions ami-

In the arrangement of Mr Wilkes's correspondence, the following letters were omitted by accident.

Letter from George Onslow, Esq. now Earl Onslow, to John Wilkes, Esq. Dated at Ember-court (near Hampton-court), September 21, 1765.

MY DEAR OLD FRIEND,

Having been most shamefully silent to you during the remainder of an opposition which did honour to every man concerned in it, and to the credit of which you so much contributed, I now begin my correspondence with you, at my first entering into office, with and under an administration whose principles I hope and believe will authorise your giving equal support to, in their very different situation. If they did not, as I know they do, revere and hold sacred those sentiments they avowed during the last two years; and hold in abhorrence those vile and detestable ones of persecution and injustice, which the public were so injured in,

in your person, I should be ashamed of what I am now proud of: bearing the small share I do among them. Public marks of this, as well as private ones, I hope will soon take place.

Honest Humphrey has dined with me here to-day; and we have just drunk your health, as we have often done. Honest as he is, I never felt him more so, than your last letter to him, which he has just now shewed me, has made him appear to me, in having done justice to my very sincere and constant regards to and admiration of you. Every word of this letter of yours (dated the 26th of August at Geneva) I subscribe to; and think, and persuade myself, the completion of our patriot, not selfishness (for such they are not), will soon appear among other proofs of integrity, steadiness and virtue, in the present ministry: and of their being as inimical as ever to those whom they have been opposing, for having acted contrary to all these principles.

Your friend, Mrs. Onslow, has been enjoying, with us, in infinite mirth, your last spe-

cimen of notes on different parts of great Churchill's works, viz. Hogarth, Talbot, and the sc—l bishop [W——ton, b—p of G——r.]. They are specimens, indeed, of your amazing abilities; and when he has more of them he has promised me a copy.

Believe me, my dear John, your mentioning me as you do gratifies my pride; as it will always do to shew myself your friend and humble servant. I was always so as a public and as a private man. Our good friend Humphrey and I, are, at this moment, in your service; and from us both you shall soon hear; particularly as to the contents of your letter of the 26th. I beg you to believe that I most truly and affectionately am

Your faithful humble servant,

GEORGE ONSLOW.

P. S. Postpone your judgment till you hear again from me, on what I lament as much as you can do, and think of as you do: Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple's being not in employment.

Translation of a Letter from M. Diderot, one of the principal Authors of the French Encyclopædia, to John Wilkes, upon his being elected Knight of the Shire for the County of Middlesex.

SIR, Paris, April 2, 1768.

I RECEIVED, with the greatest pleasure, the news of your election. I happened to be with the president when your letter was delivered to me. It was immediately read: and the whole company, which was very numerous, was overjoyed at your success. Your social virtues will, at all times and in all places, render your memory dear and precious to your friends: and the justice which has been done you in so public and distinguished a manner, indemnifies you sufficiently for the hardships of your exile. How pleasing it is to reign in the hearts of men! You reign in those of your fellow-citizens—you deserve to reign in them: you have supported their rights; and, genuine sons of freedom, as they are, they have crowned with applause the champion of their liberties.

The uncommon unanimity with which the electors voted in your favour is an incontestable proof of their impartiality. The bribery, corruption, and clandestine practices, which are so common in elections, had no place in yours. The love of liberty fired every breast, and procured the suffrage of the independent electors. And I doubt not but you might have been chosen for London itself, where the different interests arising from trade set so many secret springs in motion, had the electors been as free at Guildhall as they are interested in commerce: but interest, you know, governs the world.

Your quiet and peaceable demeanor does you infinite honour; and yout generous and patriotic principles will render your name immortal. You quitted Paris, that agreeable retreat, where your amiable and gentleman-like behaviour hath gained you so many friends; and notwithstanding all the amusements which we endeavoured to procure for you, in order to render your stay the more agreeable,—you overlooked all dangers, and flew to support the

rights of your country. Coriolanus meditated the ruin of his; and, under pretext of securing her liberties, proposed she should receive the galling yoke of slavery, after having demolished her walls. Actuated by a motive infinitely more noble, you go to yours in the character of a peace-maker; and, as a reward of all that you have suffered for her sake, you ask nothing but the power of being further serviceable to her.

In the same instant London opens to you her gates, and the citizens their hearts; but the greater part of the electors, restrained or intimidated by the powerful influence of the other candidates, durst not venture to give you their votes. The independent and famous county of Middlesex, however, has indemnified you for the secret machinations of the one, and the base pusillanimity of the other. Europe will be surprised at your patriotism and your success; or rather, Europe will admire the one, and rejoice at the other. I am the first to felicitate you on the occasion, and to join my congratulations to those of all

the friends of the human race, which was certainly never intended to wear fetters.

The august senate of Great Britain will still count a Wilkes among its most illustrious members; and the liberty of your country will still find in you a generous defender of its rights and privileges.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest sincerity,

DIDEROT.

MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS.

LETTER I.

[The writer of the following letter was the authoress of a long series of political essays, in the public prints, which continued some years under the distinguished signature of PROBUS.]

SIR, October the 28th.

WHILST the sons of Freedom are celebrating the auspicious birth of England's admired patriot, vouchsafe to accept my most respectful compliments on this joyful occasion. The tribute of a grateful heart, filled with the most ardent wishes for your prosperity, is all I have to offer. Though absent in body, yet present in mind, I behold with delight the general festivity, and only lament that I can have no hand in promoting it. Alas! I shall not so much as fire a gun in honour of the day! But still, in spite of fate, I have one

comfort left: I can enjoy in my solitary abode the heartfelt pleasure of knowing that the illustrious name of Wilkes resounds on every side, and is echoed with transport throughout the land.

The father of his country, the English David, the beloved patriot, the heroic champion, the martyr of liberty, are, sir, the glorious titles so justly bestowed on you by your grateful countrymen; titles far more honourable than those enjoyed by venal courtiers.—O may the reward of your sufferings be adequate to your unshaken fortitude!—May the highest dignities be the recompense of your transcendent merit!—May you be extolled and revered by all; and may your perfidious foes be scattered like chaff before the wind!—Such is the fervent prayer of her, who, with the greatest respect, has the honour to subscribe herself,

Sir,

your most humble
and most obedient servant,
CHARLOTTE FORMAN.

LETTER II.

Saturday Morning.

MR. TOWNLEY takes the liberty of sending to Mr. Wilkes three medals, which may show the use and acceptation of the expression *Fortuna Redux*. Two of them seem to regard the particular prosperity of the emperor, one having for its legend *Fortunæ Reduci*, with the figures of Fortune and Hadrian joining hands; the other *Fortuna Augusti*, with the figure of Fortune standing. The third medal, with *Fort. Red.* and the figure of Fortune sitting, may relate to the permanent prosperity of the state.

He begs leave to repeat his thanks for Mr. Wilkes's flattering present of yesterday, and best wishes for his constant enjoyment of the smiles of the above-mentioned goddess.

LETTER III.

Monday, 4th June.

MR. TOWNLEY presents his compliments to Mr. Wilkes, and begs leave to assure him how truly sensible he is of Mr. Wilkes's great politeness in sending him the ceiling of the Farnesina: but, as Mr. T.'s own copy is totally as useful to him as the one which Mr. Wilkes is so good as to send him, he begs Mr. Wilkes will not deprive himself of the fine copy he has lately purchased, which Mr. T. herewith returns. Mr. T. is the more induced to decline this favour, from his possessing already in the Sicilian medals a token of Mr. Wilkes's generosity and great kindness towards him.

As Mr. Astle dines exactly at four o'clock, and may have some entertaining MSS. to shew before dinner, Mr. T. will wait upon Mr. Wilkes, if agreeable to him, on Wednesday at half past two o'clock.

LETTER IV.

DEAR SIR,

THE very great politeness with which you treated me when I had the pleasure of your company in London, and by which I shall always think myself greatly honoured, encourages me to put into your hands a copy of my Proposals for writing the History of Experimental Philosophy. Engaged as you are in business of much greater consequence, and in which every Englishman is nearly interested, I am persuaded you will always find leisure to bestow some degree of attention upon subjects of literature.

I beg your acceptance of a small piece I have lately published, entitled A View of the Principles and Conduct of the Protestant Dissenters; and am, with very great respect,

Dear sir,

your obliged humble servant,

J. PRIESTLEY.

AMERICAN LETTERS.

[Mr. Wilkes was accused by Mr. Horne, (now Mr. Horne Tooke) and some other persons, with being an enemy to the cause of the Americans: the four following letters to Mr. Wilkes indisputably prove the contrary.]

LETTER I.

SIR, Boston, 26th July.

By this opportunity I send you the newspapers published since my last. You will perceive the answerer of the Farmer's Letters has very wisely dropped the controversy; sensible, no doubt, of the futility of his own arguments, and the manifest superiority of his learned and patriotic antagonist.

I also send you the answer of the council

to governor Bernard's libellous letters to the ministry; they are wrote, as I humbly conceive, with that honest freedom and intrepid firmness which has ever distinguished the council of the Massachussetts Bay, and cannot fail of carrying conviction home to the minds of every person unbiassed by ministerial influence and corruption: and if justice takes place, they must operate to the destruction of the execrable wretch who has been the chief cause of all our misery.

By the last packet from London, we are informed by the ministry, that the revenue acts will be repealed at the opening of the next session of parliament. This possibly may be an artifice to induce the colonists to a full importation, and thereby employ the British manufacturers, and take off their attention to public measures; but I trust they will ever be upon their guard, and not suffer themselves to be duped with specious promises: more especially as the ministry still reserve a claim to a supreme legislation in all cases whatever, which I am fully persuaded the colonies never can,

nor ever will submit to: so that the controversy does not appear to me to be so near its end as some people fondly imagine.

Among the many disadvantages we have experienced from the residence of a military force in the body of this metropolis, the obstruction of justice has been none of the least. A soldier may insult and abuse a citizen, and if a civil process should be issued against him for the offence, he will be sure to meet with the countenance and protection of the crown officers: either the attorney-general will enter *nolle prosequi*, or the venal and dependant judges will inflict a slight punishment, by no means adequate to the crime. We have had two notable instances of this kind of management lately,—one in an officer of a man of war, who with force, and fire-arms loaded with ball and swan-shot (which he actually discharged at a number of people), rescued a prisoner for debt, then in the custody of the sheriff of the county: this high-handed offender was tried at the superior court, and fined in the moderate sum of ten pounds only. The manifest partia-

lity of the judges gave great offence; and the rather, as at the same court three men were tried and found guilty of an assault upon an infamous fellow, an understrapper in the customs, whom they tarred, feathered, and carted, without doing him any other personal injury. These men were fined severally, from 50 *l.* to 70 *l.*, were obliged to find security for their good behaviour, and stand committed until sentence should be performed.—Is this justice? do the Americans complain without reason?

The other instance was in a soldier of the 14th regiment, who was carried before a magistrate for knocking down a man in the market. While he was under examination, he made a forcible escape to the door, where he was received by a number of soldiers stationed there for that purpose. The constable attending was very much wounded with bayonets in endeavouring to recover his prisoner; but in spite of all opposition, the soldiers carried him off in triumph. A lieutenant of the same regiment was present; but though he was repeatedly desired to hinder the soldiers from effecting

their purpose, he absolutely refused to interfere.

I should not have troubled you with these anecdotes, but only to let you know in what manner "peace and good order" are preserved, and the "dignity of government" maintained among us. Such behaviour may perhaps be sport with some people, but it is certain death to our constitution, if such daring outrages are suffered to continue for any length of time. My blood boils when I reflect that "a regard for peace and good order,—the honour of the nation,—and the dignity of government," are made a pretence to rob us of all those inestimable blessings.

The merchants meet this afternoon, to take into consideration the alluring bait thrown out by the ministry. I am confident they will be as firm against promises as threats. I shall have the honour to transmit you their resolutions, as this vessel will not sail till to-morrow.

The Society of the Friends of Liberty have directed me to forward you two turtle, of which they beg your acceptance, as a small testimony

of the great esteem and respect they have for your magnanimity and perseverance in the cause of constitutional freedom. They are now in fine order; one weighs 45 *lb.*, the other 47 *lb.*, making in the whole 92 *lb.*; which is the Massachusetts' patriotic number. I have engaged Capt. Hood's particular attention to them, and hope they will arrive safe, and afford you and your friends an agreeable repast.

The gentlemen of our committee have been hindered, by many important avocations, from answering your last letter; but intend to do themselves that honour by a vessel which will sail in ten days.

If it would not be giving you too much trouble, I should be obliged to you for the North Britons, with the continuation. That justly celebrated performance has never appeared here, but in detached pieces. Mr. Hayley will do me the favour to forward them.

Mr. Adams, the clerk to our house of assembly, has promised me a copy of the letter wrote by them to the house of burgesses in Virginia. If I can procure it in season, shall

send it by this opportunity, otherwise by the next vessel.

Governor Bernard embarks on Sunday next on board the Rippon; you may therefore expect him soon. I hope he will meet with a reception suitable to his merit.

I beg leave to subscribe myself,

Sir,

your most obedient

humble servant,

W. PALFREY.

LETTER II.

SIR, Boston, June 13th.

I HAVE just received the letter you did me the honour to write by Capt. Hall. I shall be very happy if I can contribute to your entertainment; and am much pleased to find that my sending the Answer to the Farmer's Letters was agreeable to you.

From my situation in business, I am well acquainted with most of the ship-masters in the London trade, and shall, with the greatest pleasure, continue to send you the newspapers, and any political pamphlets that may be published here.

Your letter to the Committee of the Sons of Liberty, I immediately communicated: they will do themselves the honour to answer it by the next opportunity.

The inclosed is a copy of a deposition communicated to me by a gentleman of distinction in this province, which I caused to be published, with a short introduction, in the Boston Gazette of Monday the 12th of June, in order to let the world know what was to be expected from a man, who, after making the most solemn protestations of fidelity to the crown, and attachment to the interest and welfare of the nation, could be guilty of the scandalous crime of robbing the revenue. I send it to you, sir, to make what use of it you may think proper: but I can't help expressing my wish that it may be republished, with some remarks,

that our brethren in Great Britain may know the man.

We have just received the agreeable news that our governor is ordered home, and that the troops are to be removed. This seems to be a favourable omen; and I hope ere long we shall be made happy in the possession of all our just rights and privileges, and that they may be continued to the latest posterity.

I have no reason to doubt your zeal in the cause of liberty: your enemies as well as your friends are well convinced of it: but I consider it as a peculiar hardship, that the man who so generously has exerted himself to secure the freedom of others should be deprived of his own; however, I hope the time is at hand when justice will take place of ministerial vengeance, and restore you to that honourable office to which you have been repeatedly called by your fellow-citizens, that you may thereby be the better enabled to improve your abilities for the public advantage.

I refer you to the public prints, which I herewith send you, for an account of the pro-

ceedings of our assembly, now sitting. You will see they are very far from being bullied into a slavish submission to ministerial measures.

I sincerely wish you a speedy deliverance from your present confinement, a continuation of health, and an accession of every enjoyment that may tend to render life agreeable.

I have the honour to be,
with the greatest respect,
sir,
your obliged and very humble servant,
W. PALFREY.

LETTER III.

SIR, Boston, Sept. 6th 1767.

WERE Apollo, with all the muses, engaged to compose a letter to you that should pass our committee in the present perpetually varying condition of public affairs, it would doubtless

try their patience more than all their other powers put together.

I have principally formed and presented not less than four or five draughts, as well suited to our circumstances when made as could be done by me and my assistants; but neither had the good fortune to obtain the finishing hand till a new face of affairs determined an alteration. How long this will be the case I will not even indulge a conjecture. At present our chairman, the hon. James Otis esq., lies wounded, and much bruised in a rencounter with the infamous, base, and cowardly John Robinson, commissioner, &c. who insulted and fell upon him last evening in the British coffee-house, and with the assistance of half a dozen or more such scoundrels as himself, nearly murdered him before he escaped their hands. Mr. John Gridley, a nephew to the famous attorney of that name, was the only person present to interpose in his favour, and had the ulna of his right arm fractured in the fray. On hearing the tumult the people ran in, but the matter was settled, and

the perpetrators dispersed before any number got in. Mr. Olis has received a pretty considerable cut in the forehead, supposed by a hanger; and many contusions: but, thanks to God, is in no danger; and has by his intrepid behaviour forced the applause of his enemies. —One of the ruffians is taken up, and bound over. Robinson once more absconded; and a good riddance, should such a disgrace to the species never again shew his face in our hemisphere.

The cause of freedom has gained much ground since my last to you. From the late cargo of curious letters now published here we have obtained such a thorough sense of the designs of your superlative ministry, and their tools here, that we are fully ripe for the execution of any plan that promises an effectual redress of our no longer supportable grievances. It amazes me that even Spaniards can drive a Squilaca from the throne, and Britons for years endure the more ruinous measures of a more wretched ministry.

Captain Nicols, in a short passage from

Cadiz, informs us of an alliance concluded between France, Spain, and Prussia; the design to overrun Hanover, subject Holland to an absolute sovereign, and in the end give law to Britain. Is not this the doing of the thane, and horrible in our eyes?

Pascal Paoli is in Leghorn, no doubt on his way to Frederick; where the hero, neglected by Britain, will be received with open arms. Heus patria, nuper terror, nunc gentium fastidium!

We long to hear of some thorough paroxysms among you that may forward a crisis of the lingering disease; such corrupt humors, hanging so long on the vitals, threaten the utter extinction of the animal heat.

The great indifference shewed to such weighty complaints from such respectable bodies as the freemen of the first county, and metropolitan city, of the empire, gives much concern to every true friend of the Hanover succession. This, alas! is the happy effect of the boasted undistinguished favour of the sovereign to all his loving subjects. Lamentable

is it, that the great end and ultimate design of all government, is so often lost in the mist of ambition and brutal gratification.

The news of your health, inflexible perseverance, and possession of the deserved applause of all your fellow-subjects, will ever give pleasure to the friends of liberty on this continent generally, in Boston particularly, but to none more sensibly than,

Sir,

your most stable friend,
and assiduous
humble servant,
THOS. YOUNG.

Boston, New England,
March 23d, 1770.

SIR,

IT is in consequence of an appointment of the town of Boston that we have the honour of writing to you, and of communicating the enclosed narrative, relative to the massacre in this town on the 5th instant.

After that execrable deed, perpetrated by soldiers of the 29th regiment, the town thought it highly expedient that a full and just representation of it should be made to persons of character as soon as may be, in order to frustrate the designs of certain men, who, as they have heretofore been plotting the ruin of our constitution and liberties, by their letters, memorials, and representations, are now said to have procured depositions in a private manner, relative to the said massacre, to bring an odium upon the town as the aggressors in that affair. But we humbly apprehend, that after examining the said narrative, and the depositions annexed to it, you will be fully satisfied of the falsehood of such a suggestion: and we take upon ourselves to declare upon our honour and consciences, that, having examined critically into the matter, there does not appear the least ground for it.

The depositions referred to (if any such there be) were taken without notifying the select men of the town, or any other persons whatever, to be present at the caption in be-

half of the town: which, as it has been a thing justly complained of heretofore in some other cases, so the town now renew their complaints on the same head; and humbly presume such depositions will have no weight till the town has been served with copies of them, and an opportunity given them to be heard in their defence in this matter, and in any other wherein their character is drawn into question with a view of passing a censure upon it.

A different conduct was observed on the part of the town: the justices, with a committee to assist them, made their examinations publicly; most of them at Faneuil-hall, and the rest where any persons might attend. Notifications were sent to the custom-house, where the commissioners of the customs sit, that they or any persons in their behalf might be present at the captions: and accordingly Mr. Sheaffe, the deputy-collector, and Mr. Green, tenant of the custom-house, under the commissioners and employed by them, were present at many of them.

One of the said commissioners, Mr. Robin-

son, in a secret manner has embarked on board captain Robson, and sailed for London the 16th instant; which, with three of the other commissioners' retiring from the town, and not having held a board for some time since the 5th instant, gives reason to apprehend they have planned and are executing a scheme of misrepresentation, to induce administration to think that their persons are not in safety in this town, in the absence of troops. But their safety is no way dependent on troops: for you are sensible, sir, that, if any evil had ever been intended them, troops could not have prevented it.

. It was so apparently incompatible with the safety of the town for the troops to continue any longer in it, that his majesty's council were unanimous in their advice to the lieutenant-governor, that they should be removed to the barracks at Castle Island. And it is the humble and fervent prayer of the town, and of the province in general, that his majesty will graciously be pleased, in his great wisdom and goodness, to order the said troops out of the

province; and that his dutiful and loyal subjects of this town and province—dutiful and loyal, notwithstanding any representations to the contrary—may not again be distressed and destroyed by troops: for preventing which, we beg leave in behalf of the town to request most earnestly the favour of your interposition and influence.

We have the honour to be,

with the most perfect regard,

Sir,

your most obedient

and very humble servants,

JAMES BOWDOIN,

SAMUEL PEMBERTON,

JOSEPH WARREN.

FOREIGN LETTERS.

LETTRE I.

Paris, rue de Tournay, Faubourg St. Germain, ce 18 Juillet, 1787.

PERSONNE, monsieur, n'a défendu Mr. Hastings avec plus de force et de logique que vous ne l'avez fait. L'intérêt que vous prenez à cette bizarre persécution m'enhardit à vous envoyer un fragment du Mercure de France, 8216, où j'ai essayé de réfuter quelques-uns des absurdes préjugés à ce sujet, qui de Londres se sont propagés dans le continent. Depuis, j'ai lû dans le *Morning Chronicle* le discours entier que vous avez prononcé devant la chambre, et je le traduirois si j'étois certain de son authenticité. Je vous prie, donc, de

vouloir bien m'informer du fait, et de me croire, avec des sentimens très distingués,

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et
très obéissant serviteur,

MALLET DU PAN,
Citoyen de Genève, et redacteur du Mercure de France.

LETTRE II.

JE suis très sensible, monsieur, à l'attention que vous avez bien voulu donner au discours que j'ai prononcé sur l'affaire de Mr. Hastings, et à la manière obligeante avec laquelle vous m'en témoignez votre approbation. Je vois régulièrement le Mercure, et j'y ai lû, avec un plaisir infini, les articles qui ont parlé de la persécution qu'éprouve ce grand homme: j'ai été même si frappé de la clarté, de la justesse, et de la finesse de tact qui les marquent, que j'ai été charmé d'en ajouter plusieurs, en forme de notes, à mon discours

quand je l'ai fait imprimer. Je me flatte, monsieur, que vous en avez reçu l'exemplaire que je vous ai adressé plusieurs jours avant d'avoir l'honneur de votre lettre, et que je vous prie d'agréer comme un témoignage des sentimens de considération avec lesquels je suis,

Monsieur,

votre très humble

et très obéissant serviteur,

W.

LETTRE III.

à Beaucaire, 1764.

Votre attention, monsieur, et cher ami, m'a flatté, et m'a procuré le plus sensible plaisir. Vous rendez, sûrement, assez de justice à mon attachement, pour être bien assuré de la sincérité de mes vœux. A Paris, où ma correspondance pourra être assaisonnée par les évènemens journaliers, je serai exact, parceque je pourrai vous intéresser; mais le

calme séjour d'une province sollicite de l'indulgence, et excite toute ma reconnoissance pour votre souvenir.

Les papiers publics, qui font ici une de mes ressources, m'avoient appris votre façon de penser sur le Bill de Mr. Fox, qui fera époque.—Nous nous attendons, pour notre invention de balons aërostatiques, à quelque entreprise plus considérable en Angleterre que celles qu'ont tenté les François.

Il y avoit un genre de satisfaction que je ne connoissois pas; c'étoit celui de s'associer avec une compagne aimable, jolie, qui réunit cependant les convenances reçues. Ce n'étoit pas à Paris où je voulois la trouver; la Providence me l'a donnée dans ma province. A dix-sept ans elle réunit aux graces de son age le bon sens et la raison. Ce sont mes terres, qui vont devenir mon séjour chéri; et je ne serai retenu à Paris qu'autant que mon métier m'y obligera. J'y serai dans le courant du mois de Mars; je vous donnerai de mes nouvelles en y arrivant. Vous m'y chargerez de vos ordres; je vous réitère toutes les pro-

messes que je vous ai faites. L'engagement que j'ai pris, ne m'a pas fait oublier ceux d'aller vous embrasser, et peut-être de vous amener une jolie Languedocienne, dont la vivacité contrastera un peu avec le phlegme de vos miladys.

Nous avons eu un hiver très-humide, contre l'ordinaire; voilà deux mois que nous n'avons presque pas de soleil. C'est un temps que nous craignons devoir être très mauvais pour nos récoltes.

Madame la duchesse de la Vallière m'a parlé deux fois dans ses lettres du comte Alfiery; je vous prie de vouloir bien lui faire mes complimens.

Je vous prie, monsieur, et cher ami, de parler souvent à mademoiselle Wilkes de mon constant attachement, et de lui présenter l'hommage de mon respect.

Je vous suis attaché, monsieur, et chèr ami; et vous aime à la vie et à la mort.

CASTILLE.

LETTRE IV.

Ce 15 Octobre, 1789.

MONSIEUR,

Je m'empresse de répondre à votre très obligeante lettre, pour vous témoigner ma sincère reconnoissance pour les assurances flatteuses que vous voulez bien me donner de votre contentement. Je désire de tout mon cœur, que vous le soyez assez pour me confier de nouveau le cher dépôt qui fait vos délices. J'inclus ici une lettre pour cette aimable enfant, que je vous prie de lui remettre, en l'embrassant pour moi en tendre père. Vous trouverez aussi, monsieur, le reçu du billet de deux mille livres que vous m'avez envoyé. Conservez-moi, je vous prie, votre protection : j'espère que mon cher papa ne sera pas toujours déchiré par les troubles. Nous avons la famille royale dans notre ville ; elle y est entrée au milieu des citoyens, qui la gardent précieusement comme un garant de paix, et surtout de l'aliment le plus nécessaire, dont nos ennemis vouloient nous

priver. Cette dernière révolution, qui a été terrible à Versailles par la mort de plusieurs gardes du corps, n'a point causé d'inquiétude dans mon quartier: je n'ai que des graces à rendre à l'être suprême, car il a protégé particulièrement ma maison. Je vous quitte pour causer un peu avec ma petite amie; j'espère que vous lui permettrez de me répondre bientôt, car je serois bien inquiété si j'étois longtems sans avoir de ses nouvelles. J'apprendrai aussi avec grand plaisir qu'elle continue de cultiver les talens et les connoissances qu'elle a acquises; ce seroit un meurtre si elle les perdoit.

Je finis en vous réitérant les assurances de ma vive gratitude pour vos bontés: j'en garderai précieusement le souvenir. J'ai l'honneur d'être avec ces sentimens, monsieur,

Votre très humble

et très obéissante servante,

V. Berthoud.

Permettez que ma fille vous présente aussi les sincères témoignnages de ses reconnoissances.

LETTRE V.

A Londres,

MONSIEUR L'AMBASSADEUR, ce 2 Mai, 1792.

J'AI été infiniment sensible à l'honneur de votre souvenir, et je vous prie d'en recevoir toute ma reconnoissance. Nous désirions véritablement, moi et ma fille, n'être pas oubliés de vous; et votre aimable lettre nous fait espérer que vous aurez la bonté de penser quelquefois à nous: on ne sauroit le souhaiter d'avantage, et vous voudrez bien nous distinguer parmi ceux qui vous regrettent le plus en Angleterre. Je suis au moment de faire un voyage à l'Isle de Wight. Je me rappellerai toujours, M. l'A., avec plaisir d'avoir eu l'avantage de vous y voir, et je serois enchanté de vous y voir encore. Je désirerois faire chauffer le four de *Sandham* pour M. Barthelemy plutôt que pour tout autre; et la dernière récolte a été si heureuse qu'une surabondance de pain pourroit avoir lieu chez moi sans faire

naître aucune crainte de la disette. Je me flatte que ma petite chaumière est en parfaite sureté, quoique l'église militante ne me paroit pas trop propre à rassurer, comme certain de ses membres inspire beaucoup plus de crainte que de confiance : bien différent de son prédécesseur, son départ causera une satisfaction que ne fait pas son arrivée.

Nous espérons, monsieur l'ambassadeur, que la beauté du pays où vous êtes vous dédommage des circonstances orageuses de cette époque, et nous avons trop bonne idée de ceux qui l'habitent pour n'être pas persuadé que leurs opinions politiques ne les empêcheront jamais de savoir apprécier le personnel.

M. Boyd m'a chargé de vous dire un million de choses de sa part.

Ma fille vous prie d'agréer tous ses remercimens et beaucoup de complimens. J'ai reçu une carte d'Anacharsis, dont je vous suis très redevable ainsi qu'à monsieur votre oncle. Je vous supplie, monsieur l'A., de recevoir les assurances de l'inviolable attachement et de la

considération parfaite avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être,

M. l'A.,

votre très humble

et très obéissant serviteur,

W.

LETTRE VI.

A Baden en Suisse,
le 10 Mars, 1792.

MONSIEUR,

Je manquerois à tous les sentimens de reconnoissance que je vous dois, ainsi qu'à mademoiselle Wilkes, si je différois plus longtems de me rapeller à l'honneur de votre souvenir. Je voulois m'acquitter beaucoup plutôt de ce devoir, mais je n'en ai trouvé jusqu'à présent le moment, ni à Paris, où j'ai mené une vie forte ambulante, ni en Suisse, où je ne cesse d'aller de canton en canton. Au milieu de toutes ces courses, croyez, monsieur, que ma pensée et mes regrets se tournent fréquemment vers votre pays, où j'ai été si heureux, et vers vous et mademoiselle votre fille, qui m'avez comblé de tant de bontés. Ma situation étoit

trop belle: celle dans laquelle je me trouve aujourd'hui ne l'est pas autant. Assurément elle ne s'améliorera pas par des évènemens semblables à celui qui vient d'avoir lieu à Aix.

Puissiez-vous, monsieur, être plus content de votre estomac, et puisse mademoiselle Wilkes avoir recouvré sa voix! Mes vœux pour tout ce qui peut vous intéresser tous deux, vous suivront à jamais.

J'imagine que quand ma lettre vous parviendra, vous toucherez au moment d'aller à l'Isle de Wight. J'imagine aussi que vous commencez à vous rassurer sur la possession que vous y avez. Je connois très bien votre façon de penser; je suis certain que votre confiance et votre sécurité se fondent essentiellement sur l'envoi qu'on vous a fait d'un homme d'église.

Veuillez, monsieur, présenter mes hommages à mademoiselle Wilkes, et être assuré que je serai toute ma vie fidèle aux sentimens de reconnoissance et d'attachement que je vous ai voués, et avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être,

votre très humble serviteur,

BARTHELEMY.

ENCOMIUMS FROM CHURCHILL.

THIS work cannot be concluded better than by the following extracts from Churchill's poems.

Mean narrow maxims, which enslave mankind,
Ne'er from its bias warp thy settled mind.
Not dup'd by Party, nor Opinion's slave,
Those faculties which bounteous Nature gave
Thy honest spirit into practice brings,
Nor courts the smile nor dreads the frown of kings.
Unwilling to condemn, thy soul disdains
To wear vile Faction's arbitrary chains;
And strictly weighs, in apprehension clear,
Things as they are, and not as they appear.
With thee Good-humour tempers lively Wit,
Enthron'd with Judgment, Candour loves to sit;
And Nature gave thee, open to distress,
A heart to pity, and a hand to bless.

Prophecy of Famine.

When Wilkes, our countryman, our common friend,
Arose, his king, his country to defend;
When tools of Pow'r he bar'd to public view,
And from their holes the sneaking cowards drew;

When Rancour found it far beyond her reach
To soil his honour, and his truth impeach, &c.

Epistle to Hogarth.

What if ten thousand Butes and Hollands bawl,
One Wilkes hath made a large amends for all.

The Conference.

Might tear up Freedom by the root,
Destroy a Wilkes, and fix a Bute, &c.
All friends of Liberty, when Fate
Prepar'd to shorten Wilkes's date,
Heav'd, deeply hurt, the heart-felt groan,
And knew that wound to be their own, &c.

Old Time himself, his scythe thrown by,
Himself lost in eternity,
An everlasting crown shall twine,
To make a Wilkes and Sidney join, &c.

——————————that their reign
Might longer last, to work the bane
Of one firm patriot, whose heart, tied
To Honour, all their power defied;
And brought those actions into light
They wish'd to have conceal'd in night, &c.

Plotting destruction 'gainst a head
Whose wisdom could not be misled;
Plotting destruction 'gainst a heart
Which ne'er from honour would depart, &c.

Hath not his spirit dar'd oppose
Our dearest measures, made our name
Stand forward on the roll of shame?
Hath he not won the vulgar tribes
By scorning menaces and bribes?
And proving, that his darling cause
Is of their liberties and laws
To stand the champion?—&c.
————————he, without fear.
Hath dar'd to make the truth appear.

The Duellist.

Enough of Wilkes—with good and honest men
His actions speak much stronger than my pen;
And future ages shall his name adore,
When he can act and I can write no more.
England may prove ungrateful and unjust,
But fost'ring France shall ne'er betray her trust:
'Tis a brave debt which gods on men impose,
To pay with praise the merit e'en of foes.
When the great warrior of Amilcar's race
Made Rome's wide empire tremble to her base,—
To prove her virtue, though it gall'd her pride,
Rome gave that fame which Carthage had deny'd.

The Candidate.

And, tho' by fools despis'd, by saints unbless'd,
By friends neglected, and by foes oppress'd,
Scorning the servile arts of each court-elf,
Founded on honour, Wilkes is still himself.

Gotham.

CONCLUSION.

FROM these papers Mr. Wilkes's character may be drawn with fidelity and accuracy. The early part of his life is stated with truth and impartiality. Here was ample room for a malignant mind to indulge in acrimony; but the Editor's intimacy with Mr. Wilkes prevented all such impropriety. The private conduct of an individual can afford no interest to the public. When he emerged from a country-house, and entered the political hemisphere, he attracted the attention of all his friends. He came forward the well-bred gentleman, of excellent education and of polished manners; of expanded ideas gained in a foreign university, and improved by travel in different parts of Europe. In politics he adhered to the whigs, and his friendships and attachments lay amongst them.

His several contentions with the ministers of the crown are perfectly and candidly stated throughout; and many important facts are re-

lated, which have never been laid before the public. From these contentions arose his popularity. The firmness he displayed in resisting the encroachments of power; the spirit and resolution he shewed in bringing those encroachments to a legal condemnation, inspired the whole nation with ardour and enthusiasm in his cause. Upon every victory gained over the ministry, the rejoicings of the people, in the metropolis and other places, were of the most extravagant kind: bonfires and illuminations were to be seen every where. The words Wilkes and Liberty became synonymous terms: they were written on every door, and on the pannels of every carriage, to obtain a free passage through the streets. Since the accession of the house of Brunswick, so general a ferment has not been known in the nation.

His correspondence with Mr. Cotes puts us in full possession of his situation—often critical and sometimes perilous. The mind is interested in these particulars.

His letters to and from miss Wilkes shew him to have been one of the most attentive

and most affectionate fathers, and her to have been one of the most amiable and accomplished ladies. Nor is his second daughter inferior to her sister, in every elegant grace that a finished education could give. Mr. Wilkes was, perhaps, the best lady's preceptor ever known.

The letters from the remaining parts of his family, shew him to have been no less engaged in their welfare and happiness.

These circumstances are sufficient to convince us, that he was endowed by nature with many good and excellent qualities.

As a magistrate, in Buckinghamshire and in the metropolis, he was highly esteemed.

As a member of parliament, he was diligent and faithful; and though not blessed with the powers of elocution, his language was strong and classical. His speeches contain many bold truths.

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THE END.

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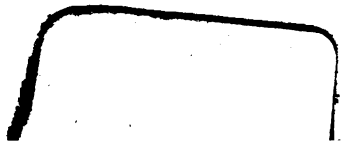
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